The BULLETIN of Friends Historical Association

Vol. 46 Autumn Number, 1957 No. 2

CONTENTS

FRIENDS' ASSOCIATION OF PHILADELPHIA FOR THE AID AND ELEVATION OF THE FREEDMEN ..... Henrietta Stratton Jaquette 67

AMERICAN QUAKER PACIFISM AND THE PEACE SETTLEMENT OF WORLD WAR I .. William D. S. Witte 84

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS—

The Chronicles of John and Zachariah: An Incident in the History of Midwestern Progressive Friends ..... Willard C. Heiss 99

William Hobson, Quaker Diarist ..... Edward P. Thatcher 106

A Visit to Whittier in 1881 ..... Henry J. Cadbury 108

Henri Herz' Description of the American Quakers ..... Henry Bertram Hill and Larry Gara 111

QUAKER RESEARCH IN PROGRESS 115

HISTORICAL NEWS 116

BOOK REVIEWS—

Cadbury, *Quakerism and Early Christianity* . Henry G. Russell 119

Comfort, *The Quaker Persuasion* ..... Lyman W. Riley 120

Tolles and Alderfer, *The Witness of William Penn* ..... T. D. S. Bassett 120

BRIEFER NOTICES ..... Henry J. Cadbury 122

ARTICLES IN QUAKER PERIODICALS ..... Lyman W. Riley 127

Officers of Friends Historical Association

President: THOMAS E. DRAKE
Haverford College Library, Haverford, Pennsylvania

Vice Presidents: RICHMOND P. MILLER
GEORGE VAUX

Secretary: SUSANNA SMEDLEY
Hildemere, Wawa, Pennsylvania

Treasurer: ALLEN M. TERRELL
c/o Girard Trust Corn Exchange Bank
Philadelphia 2, Pa.

Curator: KATHARINE W. ELKINTON
6514 Germantown Avenue, Philadelphia 19

Assistant Curator
M. JOSEPH MCCOSKER, Atwater Kent Museum, Philadelphia 6

Editor of the Bulletin: FREDERICK B. TOLLES
Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania

Assistant Editor: ANNA B. HEWITT
Haverford College Library, Haverford, Pennsylvania

DIRECTORS

Elected at annual meetings held in 1954, 1955, and 1956

Term expires Eleventh Month 1957

Richmond P. Miller
John F. Rich
C. Marshall Taylor
H. Justice Williams

Term expires Eleventh Month 1958

Edwin B. Bronner
Samuel J. Bunting, Jr.
Henry J. Cadbury
Thomas E. Drake
George Vaux

Term expires Eleventh Month 1959

Dorothy G. Harris
Horace Mather Lippincott
Lyman W. Riley
Susanna Smedley
Allen M. Terrell

The
BULLETIN
of
Friends
Historical Association

Vol. 46 **Autumn Number, 1957** **No. 2**

FRIENDS' ASSOCIATION OF PHILADELPHIA FOR THE AID AND ELEVATION OF THE FREEDMEN

By HENRIETTA STRATTON JAQUETTE*

As soon as the Civil War broke out in 1861, the colored people of the South, hitherto held in slavery, began leaving their places of bondage, gathering in abandoned plantations, and flocking to the North beyond the Union lines. Able-bodied colored men were engaged to help the Northern armies, but women and children, the disabled, and the sick were thrown upon the charity of their new neighbors. "The perils and sufferings incident to such a great social revolution," wrote a group of Friends in 1864,

> are aggravated by the desolating warfare carried on in the midst of the scenes of their former oppression. In the unprecedented scarcity of the necessaries of life, and the miseries growing out of the barbarities of war, the negroes are suffering in common with their former masters, and with the large class of non-slaveholding whites. The armies which have alternately swept the border States, while they have opened the avenues of liberty to the uncomplaining negro, and sent him forth from the prison house with his limbs unshackled, and his heart raised in thankfulness and praise, have left him without the appliances for successful labor, or an opportunity to work availingly even for a scanty support. Most of the

* Henrietta Stratton Jaquette, a member of Swarthmore Meeting, edited the Civil War letters of Cornelia Hancock under the title of *South after Gettysburg* (Philadelphia, 1937; 2nd edition, New York, 1956).

able-bodied men are immediately taken from their families into the employ of the Government, while large numbers of women and children, with the aged and infirm, are congregated in temporary camps, sheltered by the abandoned tents of soldiers, or other insufficient protection from the weather; in some localities they are the victims of infectious diseases, destitute of adequate medical attendance or supplies, and in many instances without kindly sympathy and intelligent counsel which could be made available in their extremity.[1]

Hicksite Friends in Philadelphia had been active for many years in promoting the abolition of slavery through such organizations as the Pennsylvania Abolition Society and the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society. Now, with the Negroes first freed as "contraband of war" ("what a useful word contraband is," wrote one Friend)[2] and then by the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863, a new work opened up to these and other Friends.[3] It was the women who first answered the call. On Fourth Month 15, 1862, they organized themselves into the Women's Association of Philadelphia for the Relief of the Freedmen. Though the Union Government to some extent provided for those who sought its protection, "all accounts agreed," they reported, "that unless aid was extended from other sources in this time of extremity, thousands more would inevitably perish before they could be placed in a position, to secure by their own labor the necessaries of life."[4]

This group of Philadelphia women Friends, soon realizing that the extent of the need called for greater activity than they alone were capable of, speedily set about calling upon Friends in the surrounding countryside to come to their assistance. The local Monthly-Meeting response to this appeal was spontaneous, and

---

[1] *Report of the Executive Board of Friends' Association for the Aid and Elevation of the Freedmen* (Philadelphia, 1864), pp. 3-4.

[2] Slaves, considered to be materials of warfare since their labor was helpful to the Southern army, were declared "contraband" by the North and hence subject to be requisitioned and given their freedom by the advancing armies.

[3] For an account of the work of the Orthodox Friends of Philadelphia and vicinity see Youra Qualls, " 'Successors of Woolman and Benezet': The Beginnings of the Philadelphia Friends Freedmen's Association," BULLETIN OF FRIENDS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, XLV (1956), 82-104.

[4] *Second Annual Report of the Women's Association of Philadelphia for the Relief of the Freedmen* (Philadelphia, 1864), pp. 7, 8-9.

soon there were forty sewing circles absorbing the interest and energies of women Friends throughout all of the Yearly-Meeting area—in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware. By Fourth Month 1864, an aggregate exceeding 20,000 garments for women and children, together with cases containing uncut goods and sewing materials, blankets, books, toys, medicine, farina, and dried fruit for the sick, had been sent to Washington, Yorktown, Gloucester Point, Port Royal, Craney, St. Helena and St. Simons Islands, Fortress Monroe, Williamsburg, Point Comfort, Camp Todd, Camp Rucker, Nashville and Memphis, Tennessee, and to Henry County, Iowa. Necessary funds were contributed to send two experienced colored men to take care of the sick and to teach the art of nursing to colored inmates of the smallpox hospital at Washington, where the compensation offered by the government for nurses was insufficient to secure them. This pattern of sewing- and collecting-circles of industrious, devoted women in Monthly Meetings was one to be followed later, during the devastation of two World Wars, by the American Friends Service Committee.

Soon the women called upon men Friends for help in organizing a Finance Committee and with the sometimes complicated problems of forwarding what had been made and collected. It was at this juncture, early in 1864, that the Friends' Association of Philadelphia for the Aid and Elevation of the Freedmen came into existence, when some members of the Women's Association joined with weighty and active men Friends in a larger and broader endeavor in behalf of the former slaves, who must now learn to be responsible for themselves and look forward to citizenship. The new Association (hereafter referred to as F.A.A.E.F.) declared: "It was . . . soon found that much more was required than attention to the physical wants of the freedmen; and it was with this in view, as also to promote the efficiency of the Women's Association" (which continued its sewing and relief work) that it was formed.[5] Thirty-three men and women Friends composed the Executive Board, of which the first Recording Secretary (or Clerk) was William Canby Biddle, the Corresponding Secretary Sarah W. Baker, and the Treasurer MacPherson Saunders. These Executive-Board Friends were already active in Yearly, Quarterly, and

[5] *Report of the Executive Board . . .* (1864), p. 5.

Monthly Meeting affairs, and so carried great weight when they broadcast an appeal to Friends of the entire Yearly Meeting though the Association was not an official organ of the Yearly Meeting. Dillwyn and Edward Parrish were appointed to prepare for consideration an address to be "read in Monthly and other Meetings as way opens."

Today, when once again the interests of the colored people are especially before us, the words of this circular, written nearly a hundred years ago, are significant:

While it is important that [the Women's Association for the Relief of the Freedmen,] with its auxiliary branches, should be supplied with funds to continue its labors for this destitute people, we have felt the need of an organization which shall aim not only to relieve their physical wants, but to promote their intellectual and moral elevation, and to labor for the recognition of their just rights.

Of all religious bodies the Society of Friends is most identified with the cause of the colored people, and should esteem it a peculiar duty and privilege to stand ready to assist them in gaining their rightful position as members of the community. The cruel prejudice, of which they have felt the crushing weight during two hundred years of slavery, which prejudice still prevails at the North, denies them that equality which is accorded to emigrants from foreign lands, restricts their use of public conveyances, shuts them out from free competition in industrial pursuits, and excludes them from many avenues of education and advancement.

The future of this people is involved in great uncertainty: they are rendered comparatively dependent by ignorance of many of the duties and responsibilities pertaining to freemen; hostile interests and feelings, now to some extent held in check, may again assert themselves, and we cannot but anticipate a necessity for the interposition, in their behalf, of those who feel conscientiously bound to their cause.

One of the first measures is to collect funds; and we would earnestly appeal to all to whom this circular may come, to contribute promptly and liberally—those to whom much has been entrusted, out of their abundance, and all according to their means; also to solicit contributions from others.

We also invite the co-operation of Friends of both sexes either as corresponding members or in auxiliary societies; such associations will, we believe, not only be of essential service to the cause but tend to increase the feeling of unity among those who meet with a desire "to do good and communicate." In the language of the Discipline referring to emancipated slaves: "it is worthy of our serious consideration whether any object of beneficence is more deserving of our regard than that of training up

their youth in such virtuous principles and habits as may render them useful and respectable members of the community.[6]

Affairs of the F.A.A.E.F. were mainly entrusted to the Executive Board which met twice monthly and sometimes weekly, to a Collecting Committee actively soliciting funds, and to a Committee on Education appointed to keep in view the claims of schools already established among the freed people and to establish industrial and other schools as opportunity might offer. After authorizing issuance of the Circular of Appeal for Funds, the first Executive Board gave $1200 "when in hand" to the Women's Association to purchase material with which to make clothing, discussed the procuring of books suitable for the freedmen, and appointed a sub-committee on supplies for the freedmen's villages near Washington with power to act. It also appointed a committee on the problem of the exclusion of colored people from railroad cars in Philadelphia. Edward Parrish, William M. Levick, Joseph Powell, Lucretia Mott, and Edith W. Atlee were appointed to this latter committee; and after conferring with officers of some of the railroads, they "were encouraged to believe that the cruel prejudice against color will gradually, though surely, be superseded by a more enlightened public sentiment, which will secure the extension to *all* citizens of an equal participation in the public conveyances."[7] Shortly thereafter, the Pennsylvania legislature passed a law forbidding public carriers from discriminating against colored passengers. In 1957 this problem is still not solved in many Southern states.

By Fifth Month 1864, the appeal to Friends of the Yearly Meeting had brought in $7462.85, and the Treasurer began making regular reports through the weekly *Friends' Intelligencer,* both of money received and of disbursements and their destination. Until 1872 the F.A.A.E.F. issued annual printed reports.[8]

The Education Committee, now composed of Harriet E. Stockley, Jacob M. Ellis, Daniel Neall, Spencer Roberts, Margaret

---

[6] MS Minutes, Executive Board, F.A.A.E.F., pp. 4-6, Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College.

[7] Ibid., pp. 7-8, 10; *Second Annual Report,* p. 6.

[8] No complete file seems to exist; incomplete ones may be found at the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Griscom, William Dorsey, Helen Longstreth, and Edward Parrish, received many requests for teachers. Edith W. Atlee and Harriet Stockley each visited the vicinity of Washington, now crowded with freedmen, and made written reports to the Association as to conditions and needs. Louisa T. Roberts and Margaret Griscom together made similar visits later to freedmen's camps, and reported abuses to Colonel Elison, the officer in charge for the Army, who ordered and secured redress. Improvements, especially in the hospital at Mason's Island, were due to the efforts of the Association's agents. Camp Wadsworth, comprising two farms in Virginia, conducted schools through the summer months. At Mason's Island there was a night school for freedmen, household instruction for women in the afternoon, and school for the children in the morning; Lydia Atkinson was engaged in teaching in this area. Emily Howland from New York taught as a volunteer at Camp Todd in Virginia. Sarah Ann Cadwallader was sent as a teacher to Camp Rucker, Virginia (eight miles from Alexandria), at a compensation of $300.00. Cornelia Hancock, already at work at a "contraband" hospital in Washington, was engaged at $28.00 per month to act as the Association's agent to aid the freedmen on their arrival in that city.

In response to letters from Friends in Baltimore, a committee of six was empowered to secure employment for destitute refugees, and this activity was a continuous one. So the F.A.A.E.F. was launched upon its project of elevation as well as aid. As Lucy Chase wrote from Norfolk: "Government does wonderfully well. It feeds all. It offers land and a cabin to each. It pays small wages to those who use the spade, and it does its full duty. But it cares for the body only. It cannot make men and women. It does its best to compel each able-bodied person to work, but necessarily leaves many avenues of industry unopened."[9] There was still much for the F.A.A.E.F., as well as for the Friends' Freedmen's Association of Arch Street Yearly Meeting, the Pennsylvania Freedmen's Association, and many other agencies representing other religious denominations, to do.

Education loomed large and immediate as a pressing need. Friends had been active in starting an Infant School for colored

[9] *Report of the Executive Board,* p. 9.

children on Lombard Street in Philadelphia as early as 1850 under the auspices of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society; they had also participated in the work of the Clarkson Educational Association, which established a weekday school for colored children in the northwestern part of Philadelphia in 1861 with Martha Schofield as teacher. An evening school for those over twelve with three paid teachers had been conducted in Clarkson Hall under the same auspices. With this experience behind them, Friends set out to open schools and provide teachers and books as soon as possible. To ascertain the appropriate fields of operation, the Corresponding Secretary communicated with agents of the government in charge of the camps for freedmen and with other persons in portions of the Southern states where freed people had collected. In Fourth Month 1864, Friends Henry W. Ridgway and Josiah Wilson were sent to visit accessible localities in General Butler's Department.[10] The information they secured induced the committee to concentrate its labors for the time being in the neighborhood of Washington.

By the time of its second annual printed report in 1866, however—the war now having been over for a year—the F.A.A.E.F. had been able to send teachers and establish ten schools as far south as St. Helena Island, off the coast of South Carolina south of Charleston. Conditions were gradually being stabilized. The agents of the Freedmen's Bureau encouraged Friends to open schools in that state. Laura Towne of Philadelphia, who for several years had devoted her time and energies to the colored people there, appeared at an Association meeting and gave valuable information to guide the Education Committee's efforts.

A "school" meant a teacher and a classroom. Philena Heald, who was sent to St. Helena Island, wrote on Third Month 22, 1866: "Never have I seen more persevering industry and steady determination; and surely, if their interests are not equal to those of their pale brothers and sisters (as some would have us believe), what they lack in brilliancy would be more than made up in earnestness, continuity, close attention, untiring labor, and a deep and burning desire to obtain knowledge. They are sensitive, ambitious, and keenly alive to rebuke or censure." Sarah M. Ely, who

[10] MS Minutes, Executive Board, p. 19.

accompanied her, reported: "We have a *few* children, and I can see how very much easier it is for *them* to learn, and how with them one could soon write home of tasks mastered; but our work is with the *older* ones, and I tell you truly, I am more content to work on with them by slow steps, seeing their earnest desire, their close attention, patience and hope than to have wonderful accounts to send home."[11]

It was the children, however, for whom the schools were primarily intended. Cornelia Hancock opened a school with fifty scholars in Mount Pleasant, three miles from Charleston, where she was soon joined by Mary and Carrie Taylor, and Eliza E. Way.[12] A night school, held three evenings a week for forty scholars, took care of the adults eager for education, and a First Day School each week provided for religious education. When the farm known as "Camp Wadsworth" was restored to its former owners, Mary K. Brosius was transferred to Vienna, six miles distant in Fairfax County, Virginia, Martha A. Wright was sent to Lewensville, and Mary McBride to Fairfax Court House in the same county; at Waterford, Loudoun County, Virginia, Sarah Steer, a resident of that place, was installed as a teacher. The Education Committee reported it had been "eminently successful in securing the services of those who, from a sense of duty, have entered into the work and who are peculiarly fitted for its varied requirements."[13] In making a new financial appeal to "our great body of prosperous and thriving Friends in city and country," the Association said: "It is but a poor recompense to the despised and oppressed descendant of the African race, whose toil has so long enriched our merchants and manufacturers, and furnished, as it were, the life blood of American commerce, that we should pave their way from slavery to freedom by supplying the necessaries of life to the helpless and infirm . . . at the same time that we open to those from whom knowledge has been so long shut out, the

---

[11] *Second Annual Report of the Friends' Association of Philadelphia for the Aid and Elevation of the Freedmen* (Philadelphia, 1866), p. 7.

[12] Cornelia Hancock's letters from Mount Pleasant have been published in *South after Gettysburg: Letters of Cornelia Hancock, 1863-1868,* ed. Henrietta Stratton Jaquette (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1956), pp. 185-288.

[13] *Second Annual Report,* pp. 10-11.

glorious light of education, with all its vivifying and improving results. To pay our share of this debt should be the earnest resolve of every member of our Society. . . ."[14]

With prophetic vision the second annual report of the F.A.A.E.F. declared:

> The past is full of warning, to neglect no opening for service in this great work. The prejudice and cupidity which have oppressed the African race in the past are liable to rise again into dominion, and none can tell how soon insuperable obstacles may be thrown in the way of our efforts. The proclamation which made the bondman legally free has not changed the hearts of those who have hitherto ruled in the late slave-holding States; and though we may hope that the light of truth is in some degree breaking through the dark cloud that has rested over the South, yet there is much to dread in the prospect of the resumption of authority by the State Governments.[15] Let us persevere while we can, and to this end let the members of the Society of Friends, who have been so long identified with the education of these people, and whose ancestors were among the first to acknowledge their claims to the equal enjoyment of the rights of our common humanity, see to it that our present opportunity is not wasted.[16]

The educational work of Friends in the South, as well as that of other religious denominations and voluntary agencies, was really made possible by the co-operation of the United States Government through the Freedmen's Bureau,[17] established March 3, 1865, in the War Department "to supervise and manage abandoned lands [of Confederates] and control subjects relating to Refugees and Freed-men." The Freedmen's Bureau was largely staffed by army officers when the war was over, and it was sometimes difficult to know whether help given to the Friends' Association was given by the army, still occupying the Southern states, or by the Freedmen's Bureau. Barrels and packages sent by Friends from Philadelphia often went through the Quartermaster's Department and so were marked "no charge."

The teachers found they needed the protection and help of the officers of the Freedmen's Bureau, especially after the educational powers of the Bureau were greatly enlarged in July 1866,

---

[14] Ibid., p. 13.

[15] The Southern states were still under military rule.

[16] *Second Annual Report,* p. 12.

[17] See Pierce Paul Skeels, *The Freedmen's Bureau: A Chapter in the History of Reconstruction* (Iowa City, Iowa, 1904).

to authorize it to co-operate with private benevolent associations and with agents and teachers accredited by them." The Commissioners were directed "to hire, or provide by lease, buildings for purposes of education whenever teachers and means of instruction, without cost to the Government, should be provided" and "to furnish such protection as might be required for safe conduct of such schools." The supplying of equipment and books was also part of the duties of the Bureau's School Officer. Reuben Tomlinson, a Philadelphia Friend, was in charge of school supplies in Charleston. The sum of $521,000 was appropriated for school expenses and a considerable fund was provided for sale and lease of property formerly belonging to the Confederate Government. The annual army appropriation bills during the next two years made liberal provision for schools, and the Bureau school system presently assumed a fairly comprehensive and stable character. Still, Friends and other benevolent societies did not lessen their striving, for the Bureau did not employ teachers or pay them salaries, nor did it take the initiative in establishing schools.

The third annual report of the F.A.A.E.F. in 1867 listed seventeen teachers in the field. There were seven new ones: Alice Sutton and Sarah E. Lloyd teaching at Woodlawn, Hannah Shortledge at Big Falls, Catharine Hall at Greenfield, Fanny Gause at Herndon Street, Deborah Smith at Green Spring, and Caroline Thomas at Leesburg, all in Virginia. Advanced colored students were enlisted as Assistant Teachers at a small stipend in four schools, while they continued to receive instruction themselves. The F.A.A.E.F. felt keenly its responsibility for maintaining standards in these schools. Members of the Education Committee or other qualified persons made visits to them to see at first hand what was going on, and to encourage the teachers in their employ. Once a month each teacher forwarded to the Education Committee a statistical account of the number of pupils and their advancement. These reports, in connection with frequent letters, brought the different schools under the supervision of the Association and enabled the members to co-operate understandingly with the teachers. In the five schools of South Carolina there were 218 pupils, 162 between the ages of six and sixteen; in the eleven Virginia schools there were 830, 422 of them between six and sixteen. Reading, writing, and arithmetic were, of course, the

basic subjects taught, though some 255 pupils were studying geography, a few grammar, a few "philosophy," and a few Peterson's *Familiar Science.*

In 1870, the sixth year of its work, the F.A.AE.F. undertook to make a summary of the complete operation to date, though acknowledging the impossibility of a correct estimate, since valuable contributions of garments, books, seeds, sanitary stores, etc., were often forwarded without an accurate inventory being made: "With regard to the funds expended for educational purposes we would say, that although we have but thirteen schools in active operation at the present time, we have had at other periods of our history a greater number [actually 25] and have assisted others by small donations—while, through the assistance and influence of our teachers, Night and First-day schools have been established in various neighborhoods, the books for which have been supplied by the Friends Bible and Tract Distributing Association."[18] By now $64,500 had been contributed directly by Friends (this equals at least twice this sum in terms of today's dollars), 416 boxes had been forwarded, 26,410 new garments made (in addition to those made up for the Pennsylvania Freedman's Association), and 21,800 partly worn garments sent.

By now the schools were fewer in number, as adults and older children had been obliged to leave school for employment; and cost to the Association for maintenance was less, as pupils in most cases contributed generally twenty cents each per month to their support. The rights of citizenship being now hopefully secured to the freedmen by the passing of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments, some thought that the Association could curtail its efforts, but Friends were asked to consider whether "instead of withdrawing from this field of labor, we are not called upon to make greater exertion: that [the freedmen] may be well fitted by the education now being received to exercise their newly-acquired rights intelligently, and for the good of themselves and our common country."[19]

By the end of 1870, school appropriations by the Freedmen's

---

[18] *Sixth Annual Report of the Friends' Association of Philadelphia for the Aid and Elevation of the Freedmen* (Philadelphia, 1870), p. 16.

[19] Ibid., p. 3.

Bureau for supplies and rental of buildings had been fully expended, subscriptions to the F.A.A.E.F. were growing less, and the interests of Friends were being diverted to other causes; consequently there was a prospect of closing some of the schools, even though the state authorities were not yet in a condition to take care of them. Concern over the possibility that some schools would not reopen in the fall stirred the Association to address a letter to the pupils and their families in all the schools:

As the time draws near when our intercourse with you through your faithful teachers must cease, or with some has already ceased, we feel drawn closely towards you in anxious desires for your best interests; and first, in reference to your education, we entreat you to let no opportunity slip for improving your minds. Although you may be deprived of the valuable assistance of your teachers, you can do much to help one another: study your lessons with each other, what *one* does not know, the *other* may, and in this manner you cannot help but improve. It may be slow, but be not discouraged; help will come to those who help themselves.

You that have children, we beg of you to *educate them* as far as lies in your power. If you ever expect to better your condition in life it must be by the attainment of knowledge; and this will not come of itself,—it will only come of your own exertions. We repeat then, educate your children, even if it *costs you some sacrifice* to accomplish it.

Another very important matter to which we would direct your attention is the condition of your home. If you desire to be happy in your family relations, make your homes as comfortable as possible; keep them tidy and neat; make them the pleasantest places you can find anywhere. By this means you will keep all the members of your family around you and your true enjoyment will be thus increased. You that have wives, cherish them; do all in your power to make their labors lighter. You that have husbands, it is also your duty to endeavor to make *their* toils pleasant, see that their clothing, as well as your own and your children's, is kept in as good condition as you possibly can. . . .

The time is not far distant when you *must* take care of yourselves, and if you do not *now* as well as *then,* make the best of everything at your command, much suffering will be your portion. By leading lives of industry, both for yourselves and your children, you will gradually obtain the respect of your white brethren, who will feel more encouraged to lend you a helping hand than if they saw you idle and dissolute.

We ask you to remember all your friends who have exerted themselves on your behalf, and especially do we ask you to not forget your *kind* teachers who have toiled so incessantly and endured so many privations for your good. While we claim nothing for ourselves, and know that you have no pecuniary means of reward or payment, we also know that you can show your gratitude by making every effort in your power to become self-

dependent and leading upright Christian lives; only do this, and all will feel amply repaid.

Treat everybody well; resent not injuries (for they will come) but be patient and kind to all.

We know you have much to contend with, but we also know our Heavenly Father is near to all who humbly ask His assistance; not in idleness or improper conduct, but in honest endeavors to do right. To Him, therefore, we commend you, as we bid you farewell.

By direction of Friends Association of Philadelphia for the Aid and Elevation of the Freedmen. (Philadelphia)

JACOB M. ELLIS
ANNIE COOPER
Secretaries[20]

This circular letter was read in all schools—not once but twice, so that all might have a chance to hear. The teachers reported that it was received with profound attention and appreciation.

In April of 1870 it was announced in the *Friends' Intelligencer* that Association schools in Virginia were closed "for the present." How many would be reopened would depend upon circumstances —"prominent among which will be the amount of money contributed by Friends during the interim." Four schools in South Carolina were still operating, the committee thinking it probable that the donations received and to be received would sustain them until the usual time for vacation. The new schoolhouse at Mount Pleasant, containing three rooms, continued to be supervised by Cornelia Hancock, assisted by Fannie Gause and Mary P. Jacobs; a fourth at Rickersville was taught by Isabel Lenair, a colored teacher. The teachers' friends in the North were helping to finish and equip the new building supplied by the Freedmen's Bureau where average attendance was over eighty. Cornelia Hancock was still concerned over the difficulties of the freedmen in securing employment at remunerative rates: "the dense ignorance existing in the grown people's minds," she wrote, "makes it extremely difficult for them to settle upon any business that requires forethought or calculation. . . . The care the planter extended to them in slavery developed this improvidence for the future and *the present* is a much more important time for them than any other." But in spite of the uncertainties

[20] Ibid., pp. 10-11.

of their home life, she felt that "great changes have taken place with these children. No one ought to feel discouraged in looking forward to their future."[21]

By 1871 Virginia was at work putting into operation a public-school system to include colored children, but public funds did not yet completely pay the bill. So the few Friends now left to act for the Association decided to continue to help by supplementing teachers' salaries in areas where they had previously maintained schools. From Virginia the following year came the report that "the barriers in the way of Schools for Freedmen are fast being thrown down, and men who a year or two since were strongly opposed to these schools are now among their warmest friends. It is no longer a question as to the *existence* of colored schools, but it is becoming a question as to the *kind* of schools they shall be. . . . There will hereafter be but little trouble in keeping up the colored schools in some shape; but the poverty of the people, and the prejudice of too many will result in having these schools run on as cheap a basis as possible." The correspondent felt that it would be of interest to friends of the freedmen to know that the school board of which he was chairman "is now erecting a school house for the colored people on the battle field of the first Bull Run. . . . On the second battle field of Bull Run we are erecting the *Grooton* school house for white children. *Both of these houses will be built and furnished in the same manner.*"[22] So began the theory of separate but equal facilities.

It seems likely that the eighth *Annual Report* (for 1872) of the F.A.A.E.F. was the last to be printed, but a few faithful friends of the freedmen continued to report to Friends through the *Intelligencer.* They were especially concerned about preparing the more advanced pupils for the positions of teachers and they looked with special interest on the schools in South Carolina. In 1874 the school at Mount Pleasant, South Carolina, was referred to as The Laing School in honor of Henry M. Laing, the Treasurer of the Friends' Association, who had been of special assistance to it. From here it presently became possible to send out teachers to the public schools being opened by the state for the colored children; but

---

[21] *Friends' Intelligencer,* XXVII (Fourth Month 23, 1870), p. 122; *Sixth Annual Report,* pp. 8-9.

[22] *Friends' Intelligencer,* XXIX (Third Month 2, 1872), p. 10.

these schools were so few, and were open for such a small part of the year, that there was still a great need for a full-term school manned by competent teachers, such as that at Mount Pleasant.

It is evident from the reports in the *Intelligencer* from 1874 on, signed by Jacob M. Ellis, that there was no longer a large active Association. Friends were reminded again and again that funds were exhausted and that the one school still being taught by Cornelia Hancock, assisted by Abby Munro and Anna M. Stanton, must close if the treasury were not replenished. These three teachers, however, continued so faithfully, not knowing from month to month whether salaries would be paid, and were so vivid in their interpretation of the value and effectiveness of the school at Mount Pleasant that substantial contributions of money and goods were made by individuals. In 1875 Cornelia Hancock resigned as Principal,[23] and Abby Munro stepped into her place, to continue the school for thirty-seven years. Friends finally got the habit of supporting Laing School; it came to be a project for many Philadelphia-area Monthly Meetings, and the contributed funds became a Trust Fund, the interest of which formed a stable nucleus for continuation of this school—a school once called by the Charleston (South Carolina) *News and Courier* "the best school for colored children in the state." In 1894, at the request of Henry M. Laing, the Pennsylvania Abolition Society was made Trustee of the Laing School.[24] In the second quarter of this century the school finally became a part of the public-school system of South Carolina. It had been the one remaining tangible evidence of the efforts of the Friends' Association to "elevate" the freedmen.

When one reads the *Friends' Intelligencer* or studies the minutes of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting for the period from 1864 to 1872, when the Friends' Association for the Aid and Elevation of the Freedmen was at its strongest, one realizes how active Friends were in other community affairs as well. It is just at this time, when the country was recovering from the horrors and devastation, the bitterness and the dislocations of the Civil War, that we find Friends holding conferences in Philadelphia, New York, and Baltimore, to discuss education for their own children —

---

[23] Ibid., XXXII (Second Month 5, 1876), p. 788.

[24] *Anniversary Booklet of Laing School, Mount Pleasant, South Carolina, 1866-1926* (n.p., n.d.), p. 11.

conferences that resulted in the founding of Swarthmore College in 1864. These same years marked the formation, in this instance as a Yearly-Meeting committee, of the movement to help with the care and education of the Indians. Many of the same names stand out prominently in these activities as in the F.A.A.E.F. It was a busy time for Friends, and there were urgent calls upon their time, energy, and pocketbooks.

As we look back at Friends work among the freedmen, we see several patterns emerging—patterns that have had some continuity in Friends methods of going about their concerns:

1. To carry on their work Friends organized an *ad hoc* "association" as an autonomous body, separate from the Yearly Meeting as such but using Yearly-Meeting facilities. Many Friends committees and organizations have followed this independent procedure.

2. The word was spread widely among the members of the Yearly Meeting. Appeals were made directly to Monthly and Quarterly Meetings. Friends learned early to organize on a local level to collect funds and partially worn clothing, and to make new clothes in their busy sewing circles.

3. They co-operated with other community groups with similar aims, joining sometimes in specific projects and keeping in touch with them in order to avoid duplication of effort.

4. They utilized agencies at hand, such as the Quartermaster's Department of the Army for transport of barrels and boxes and the Freedmen's Bureau for renting and building schoolhouses. School supplies from the Bureau were also utilized until the Bureau was abolished in 1872. They helped set standards for the school work of the Freedmen's Bureau and continued to function after the Bureau was discontinued.

5. They supplemented public-school funds in Virginia through the period when the state was making tentative beginnings in installing schools for colored children, but before public support was sufficient to maintain them.

6. Friends took responsibility as a religious body and as citizens to visit the temporary camps, hospitals, and schools set up by the

government, first for the "contrabands," then for the freedmen, in the vicinity of Washington; and did not hesitate to recommend to officials the improvements they considered necessary. They participated as volunteers in the actual work of these institutions and later in the teaching and supervising of the schools established further south.

7. When the enthusiasm and support of the *group* dwindled, individuals and Monthly Meetings took on the burden of continued support for Laing School until the Pennsylvania Abolition Society came to its rescue in 1894 and became its Trustee. Through this school and Schofield School in Aiken, South Carolina, they remained in touch with the course of events among the freedmen.

8. Although the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States assured the colored people their freedom and civil rights as citizens, Friends of the F.A.A.E.F. were well aware, from the reports of their community-minded teachers in the South, that the future of these freed people rested upon education and the development of a sound economic and political base. Ninety years later, they are not yet fully free and continue to be a concern for Friends.

AMERICAN QUAKER PACIFISM AND THE PEACE SETTLEMENT OF WORLD WAR I

By WILLIAM D. S. WITTE*

Of all the testimonies of the Religious Society of Friends, that for peace is probably the one which most non-Quakers associate with the Society. Within the Quaker community itself, there are and always have been individual Friends who have denied the centrality of pacifism among the testimonies, Friends also who have renounced conscientious objection as a dereliction of duty. While such individual defections have at times been serious and numerically large, it is, nevertheless, clear that Quakers in their official capacity (Meetings, committees, etc.) have remained firm in their support of pacifism as they have understood it and its "necessary" implications.

Prior to World War I, some of the problems implicit in the position of the pacifist who attempts to apply his convictions to the political world around him had become apparent in Quaker experience. The dilemma which plagued Friends who held posts of political responsibility in colonial America proved to be insuperable: neither Quaker governors in Rhode Island nor Quaker legislators in Pennsylvania could both perform and not perform their official duties providing defense for their colonies. The governors resolved the problem in favor of defending Rhode Island against the Indians; the lawmakers by withdrawing from politics.[1]

By the end of the Revolutionary War, the Society of Friends had decided that it should look inward, giving attention, as far as its outward work was concerned, chiefly to humanitarian endeavors.[2] During the ensuing years, its position was not primarily one of attempting to influence governmental policy. However,

* Assistant Professor of Political Science, Bradley University, Peoria, Illinois, and member of Peoria (Illinois) Meeting.

[1] Rufus M. Jones, Isaac Sharpless, and Amelia M. Gummere, *The Quakers in the American Colonies* (London, 1911), pp. 204, 488-93.

[2] Ibid., p. 571.

new times, altered circumstances, and a rethinking of practices which had developed in those quiescent years led many Friends to feel that mere non-participation in war fell short of the demands of pacifism. Moreover, personal pacifism was inadequate—what was necessary was some positive contribution, at the policy level, to the creation of conditions which would lend themselves to the development of a stabilized, orderly, co-operative world.

About a month following the outbreak of the first World War, Friends General Conference sent to President Woodrow Wilson a statement of the views of that group of Quakers. Significantly, these Friends urged Wilson and the United States to seek the establishment of "a Parliament of Nations." "A World Parliament with a World Court and a World Police to enforce its decisions," they said, "can maintain peace."[3]

Following this declaration made in September 1914, Quakers began a concerted effort to acquaint themselves with the factors involved in this particular conflict and in war generally. For this purpose, "peace" meetings were held in great numbers; areas of conflict in American foreign relations were the subjects of articles in Quaker literature; "outline study courses" on "internationalism" were prepared, in some cases, by Quakers and used, in many, by them; and, sometimes, Friends joined those organizations which were investigating the problems of war and peace. Nor should the labors of the various Friends Peace Committees be disregarded.

Through their participation in these activities, many Quakers became aware of and conversant with the issues which were to form the principal arguments in the two years following the Armistice. Questions of international organization, the pacific settlement of disputes, disarmament, and related matters received the attention of Friends, and it was chiefly through their discussion of the League of Nations that their opinions became manifest.

During the war and in the days preceding the release of the text of the Covenant of the League of Nations, there were indications that many Friends were profoundly sympathetic to the formation of a league of states, but often these expressions of support were accompanied by words of concern regarding the use of coercive sanctions as instruments for enforcing international

[3] *Proceedings of Friends' General Conference* (1914), p. 130.

order. When the League to Enforce Peace was founded in June 1915, it included in its plan a provision calling for the employment of military and economic sanctions against a recalcitrant member of the organization. This provision caused Allen D. Hole, editor of the *Messenger of Peace* (the organ of the Peace Association of Friends in America), to express his regret—even so, he believed that the League's program represented progress and deserved to have at least tentative support from men of good will.[4] In July 1915, a conference representing the various branches of American Quakerism met at Winona Lake, Indiana, and declared the desirability of setting up "a world government." International obligations were to be enforced "by such forms of non-intercourse and other non-military sanctions as may be most effective. . . ."[5] After the Armistice, general statements of support for some sort of a league of nations came from various Quaker sources.[6]

In the months following February 1919, the issue was not whether "some" league or "a" league would be supported or opposed. For now a concrete proposal for the League of Nations had been embodied in the Covenant which formed a part of the Treaty of Versailles—all of which represented, in the circumstances, the best efforts of the statesmen at the Paris Conference. Faced with the "real thing," what would, or should, Friends do? That divergent views existed was soon made evident.

When Brooklyn Meeting urged the New York Senators to support the League, John W. Hutchinson registered his regret at the action and stated his hope that no other meeting would do as Brooklyn had done.[7] On the west coast, California Yearly Meeting followed the lead of its Superintendent of Peace, Robert C. Root, who suggested that California Quakers lend their aid to the League, which was "the world's greatest hope for the suppression of war,

---

[4] *Messenger of Peace,* XL (August 1915), 71-72—hereafter cited as *MOP.*

[5] Ibid., 72-73.

[6] See, for example, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Orthodox), *Extracts from the Minutes of the Yearly Meeting of Friends* (1919), p. 114. See also Henry Ferris, "A League of Nations, or Chaos," *Friends Intelligencer,* LXXVI (January 11, 1919), 21—hereafter cited as *Intelligencer.* See, finally, *MOP,* XLIII (January 1919), 149-51.

[7] John William Hutchinson, "Opposition to the Paris Plan," *Intelligencer,* LXXVI (June 7, 1919), 361.

and . . . for world-wide Christian Co-operation and the development of international friendship and brotherhood."[8] Individually, other Friends strove to win adherents to the League's cause. According to Elbert Russell, the proposed international organization was a monumental stride forward, the greatest advance toward achievement of "the kingdom of God in the international relations of men since the days of Constantine. . . ."[9]

Meanwhile, the editorial columns of the *Intelligencer,* under the pen of Henry Ferris, were practically silent on the subject of the League. The noncommittal pages of the periodical puzzled Elizabeth Coale, who believed that the question should be discussed fully and calmly by Quakers. In making her suggestion, she noted her own advocacy of the proposed organization as "a stepping-stone" to the kind of association which Friends would find desirable.[10]

The cause for his failure to speak out, said Ferris, had been his inability to decide whether or not to support the Treaty and the League.[11] He regarded the question as "a choice of evils" and declared his opposition to unqualified ratification. Ferris found fault, on two grounds, with the inclusion of the Covenant in the Treaty as an integral part of the latter: (1) the League had to be taken as presented, with no possibility of alteration at present; and (2) even if the League as constituted could be approved, the Treaty with its numerous inequities had to be accepted. Moreover, it would be a function of the proposed organization to preserve and guarantee those evils which the Treaty perpetuated or created; for example, the transference to Japan of the former German concession in Shantung. A "real" league was desired by everybody, Ferris believed, but the League of the Covenant was not such an organization. The product of the Paris Conference lacked universality of membership and was, in effect, an alliance. With these

---

[8] California Yearly Meeting, *Minutes* (1919), p. 22.

[9] This statement appeared in a release of the League to Enforce Peace. Names of three other Friends favoring the League were also included. Reprinted as "Opinions on the League of Nations," *Intelligencer,* LXXVI (July 19, 1919), 457.

[10] Elizabeth H. Coale, "The Treaty of Peace," ibid. (September 20, 1919), 601.

[11] Henry Ferris, "Which Way?" ibid., 600.

remarks Ferris pointed the direction in which the editorial policy of the *Intelligencer* would move, a direction which a good many Quakers refused to travel.

That the proposed League was imperfect was readily admitted by its proponents, who now became more vocal in their support of the organization. Henry M. Haviland hoped that Friends would not obstruct but rather would aid the growth of the League, even though it fell short of being ideal. Calling the organization an alliance strained the meaning of the term "alliance"; the Entente Cordiale had been an alliance, but the League would consist of forty-six members at the outset, if all the original signatories and the invited states joined. Finally, there were aspects of the organization on which Quakers could unite favorably: the processes of peaceful settlement; disarmament; humanitarian projects; and the protection of small countries.[12]

Other advocates of the Covenant saw in its provisions a reflection of the facts of international life. The realities of world politics could not be ignored in a plan designed to deal with those actualities.[13] Moreover, it was remarkable that there existed a Covenant at all in view of the difficulties posed at Paris and the need to obtain agreement on so many points by such a large number of states. Instead of being an evil document,[14] the Covenant would provide definite benefits, including an international legislative body, an effective court, eventual universality of membership, etc.[15]

If some of the objections of some Quakers to the Covenant had not been made clear enough by the editorials of Henry Ferris,[16]

---

[12] H. M. Haviland, "The League of Nations," ibid. (October 4, 1919), 632.

[13] John Cox, Jr., "Common Sense," ibid., 632-33. See also Eleanor Scott Sharples, "The Dawn of a New Day," ibid. (October 11, 1919), 652.

[14] It had been suggested that the Covenant compromised on certain matters of principle. The gravest error would be to make concessions to evil. Henry Ferris, "1787 and 1919," ibid. (October 4, 1919), 631-32.

[15] Charles M'Dowell, "The League of Nations," ibid. (October 11, 1919), 652.

[16] In addition to those already cited, one might also consult his "War and the League of Nations," ibid. (October 18, 1919), 664, in which

a devastating attack on it by William I. Hull should have left no doubt about what he considered to be the weaknesses.[17] The Versailles Treaty, incorporating the League Covenant, was a dictated, not a negotiated, settlement, Hull declared—and the Paris documents must undergo a radical change.

Open to serious objection, said Hull, was the method of amendment, by which the requirement of Council unanimity, coupled with the loss of League membership for those states refusing to accept an amendment, lent itself to the organization's self-destruction. Disarmament, a problem of deep interest to Friends, was inadequately dealt with in the Covenant: the Council could not act but could merely recommend action, and then only if that body were unanimous. While not entirely valueless, the mandate system was generally faulty, chiefly because the League would simply give effect to a *status quo* which the colonial powers were currently attempting to create.

Revision was required, Hull held, with respect to the League Assembly, where *states* were represented and the rule of unanimity prevailed: it was necessary that *people* have greater representation. Further, the Assembly should be given control over the executive branch of the League and should be granted a "genuine legislative power" which would extend to matters concerning basic human necessities and the field of education for the purpose of destroying international distrust and misunderstanding. Because the real core of the League's power resided in the Council, the composition of that organ was especially objectionable, with the permanent majority of the five principal victors subverting the organization, in effect, into "a partial alliance."

There was also the failure of the Covenant with respect to the question of the settlement of international disputes. It was not the Council to which conflicts should be referred, said Hull, but

---

Ferris argued that the composition of the League's Council would prevent the organization from accomplishing its ostensible purpose.

[17] William I. Hull, "The Proposed League of Nations. Seven Fundamental Amendments," ibid. (November 1, 1919), 693-95; (November 8, 1919), 709-11; (November 15, 1919), 725. The prestige of Hull was great. He was a highly respected member of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Hicksite), was on that body's Peace and Emergency Service Committee, had attended the Hague Conferences, and was Professor of History and International Relations at Swarthmore College.

rather a world court, whose jurisdiction over all justiciable disputes ought to be mandatory. In giving effect to the court's decisions, only non-military means should be employed. Another fault in the Covenant was the special recognition which it gave to the status of the Monroe Doctrine as a "regional understanding," a recognition which would further fragment the League and probably encourage imperialism.

Finally, the integration of the Covenant into the Versailles Treaty had been a basic fallacy: Covenant and Treaty should be sundered; Council membership should be expanded; and the League should immediately undertake "to remove from the Treaties the numerous and inevitable causes of future wars which are embedded in their ruthless violation of national self-determination, freedom of trade, and international justice."

While William I. Hull had presented Friends with a fairly detailed analysis of the Covenant and had reached the conclusion that it should be opposed as it stood, he had failed to convince at least the active Quaker proponents of the League. One Friend believed that Jesus would have supported the Covenant as a move in the direction of building "his Kingdom on earth."[18] S. S. Green thought that Hull was seeking an unattainable perfection, and that, with the passing of time, it was "inevitable" that something nearer the ideal would develop out of the present League.[19]

On the other hand, expression was given to the idea that world peace rested on the regeneration of man. James Bonner stated his opinion that race antagonism and its progenitor, self-righteousness, were at the base of the war-peace problem. Eliminate these two evils and the problem of finding the proper organizational structure would disappear—for then, peace itself would "automatically" be achieved.[20]

As the year 1920 began, Henry Ferris returned to the arena.[21]

---

[18] Elizabeth H. Coale, "If Jesus Came Again," ibid. (November 23, 1919), 744.

[19] S. S. Green, "The League and the Articles of Confederation," idem.

[20] James M. Bonner, "Hatching the Wrong Egg," ibid. (December 13, 1919), 793.

[21] Henry Ferris, "Peace and the 'League of Nations'," ibid., LXXVII (January 3, 1920), 4.

Reiterating his own and Hull's earlier objections, Ferris pointed to the inseparability of the Covenant and the Peace Treaty, the ineffective disarmament program, the inadequate provisions for protection of the rights of small states. The approach contained in the Paris plan could not lessen or eliminate international conflict. Only justice and righteousness could issue in peace. Peace, it was declared, "does not come from covenants with evil power. . . . A mere alliance of victors in war, even though it be named a League of Nations, tends only toward further war. It is a delusion and a snare."

Even if Ferris were correct (a point not conceded by the advocates of the League), the question still remained: what was the proper course of action when faced with a *fait accompli?* The attitude of accepting a situation and working with it to the best of one's ability found an adherent in Linton Satterthwaite.[22] Concerning the position taken by President Wilson at Paris and the charges that he had compromised principles and abandoned idealism, Satterthwaite noted that all the United States could do was to try to persuade (not force) other countries to adopt certain provisions in the treaties. After striving to influence the other statesmen at Paris, the American delegation could only "accept the result as the inevitable outcome of the disastrous world-war." The composition of the Council, he continued, was probably the best that could be evolved under existing circumstances. As for world conditions, they were not going to be bettered by American idealism if the United States held aloof. Within the League, this country could make its influence felt. Quakers, concluded Satterthwaite, would not be destroying their principles by working for the plan at hand while looking to the future for advancement toward the more preferable goal.

The place of sanctions in the maintenance of world order as a problem which pacifists had to face had been mentioned by Friends from time to time, especially since Allen Hole and the Quakers at the Winona Lake Conference had commented on it in 1915. Now the question was raised again by Henry J. Cadbury.[23]

---

[22] Linton Satterthwaite, "The League of Nations: The Common-Sense View," ibid. (January 17, 1920), 38-39.

[23] Henry J. Cadbury, "A New Evil and an Ancient Conscience," *MOP,* XLV (April 1920), 49-53.

In searching for an alternative to the use of military force, many Friends, said Cadbury, had hit upon economic sanctions as an acceptable means of enforcement. It had become clear, however, that, during the war, those who had suffered the effects of economic blockade were the people generally and not the war leaders particularly. Economic measures as provided for in the Covenant, concluded Cadbury, were as unpalatable as military sanctions.

To determine the feeling among its readers on the issue of the League, the *Friends' Intelligencer* had invited them to participate in a poll.[24] Three choices were offered: (1) ratification of the Covenant without change; (2) ratification with some alteration; or (3) rejection. When the results were published,[25] it was shown that 132 votes had been cast, a response which Henry Ferris regarded as good. Tabulation of the opinions indicated that fifty-nine favored the first course, sixty-one the second, and twelve the third. Of those participating in the balloting, then, about 45 per cent preferred unconditional ratification of the Treaty and the Covenant, while approximately ninety-one per cent supported the League in some form.

With the taking of this poll, the major part of the public discussion among Quakers regarding the League (during the immediate postwar period) was almost over. Apparently most of them thought that the case on both sides had been satisfactorily argued. Shortly afterward, various official groups of Friends began to meet for their regular conclaves, and their deliberations provide insight into the official attitudes of the different bodies toward the League of Nations issue.

When the Peace Committee of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Orthodox) reported to the annual session around the first of April, 1920, there was no mention of *the* League or even of *a* league. At the same time, the Committee laid heavy emphasis on the importance of the power of love as a regenerative force in the individual.[26] In Indiana Yearly Meeting (Five Years Meeting) there was a similar silence with regard to the League except for

---

[24] *Intelligencer,* LXXVII (January 17, 1920), 40.

[25] "The Vote on the League of Nations," ibid. (February 7, 1920), 85-86.

[26] Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Orthodox), *Extracts,* pp. 92-93.

one unimportant mention.[27] The Hicksite Yearly Meeting in Philadelphia heard its Peace and Emergency Service Committee declare that an international organization must be founded on "Christian principles and devoted to the peaceful settlement of international disputes and the promotion of international co-operation. . . ." To construct the world body on other bases would invite its self-destruction. No endorsement of the League of Nations was forthcoming.[28] In California, the Yearly Meeting's Board of Peace and Justice stressed its belief that "Christianity is the one sure remedy for war. . . ." The plenary body in California did not give, as it had in 1919, its support to the League.[29] In July, Friends General Conference drew attention to Friends' traditional sympathy for international co-operation, but did not give its benediction to the League of Nations.[30]

To examine various aspects of the Society's peace testimony, 936 delegates from over the world attended the All Friends Conference held during August 1920 in London. About 350 American Quakers were present at this gathering, the first of its kind ever held. Most of the comment regarding the world organization appears to have been unfavorable.[31] In consequence, the Conference sent a memorial "To the Council and Assembly of the League of Nations" in which certain alterations were urged to bring the real closer to the ideal: (1) universality of membership, insofar as entrance was desired by individual states; (2) more actual representation of peoples, and the elimination of control by a few major powers; (3) discarding of provisions for employment of military and economic sanctions—the proper sanctions should be "enlightened public opinion" and spiritual power; and (4) requirement of something less than unanimity in reaching decisions and making amendments. Adopted also was a minute in which the faults of the Covenant were noted and two alternative

---

[27] Indiana Yearly Meeting (Five Years Meeting), *Minutes* (1920), p. 78.

[28] Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Hicksite), *Minutes* (1920), pp. 89-90.

[29] California Yearly Meeting, *Minutes* (1920), pp. 67-68.

[30] *Proceedings of Friends' General Conference* (1920), p. 9.

[31] William B. Harvey, "The All Friends' Conference," *The Friend* (Philadelphia), XCIV (September 30, 1920), 158-59.

courses were suggested: one was to work for the internal reform of the League, and the other was to strive for the creation of a new organization.[32]

Toward the end of 1920, and after the American elections of that year, William I. Hull wrote that, although the elections had contained certain "omens of evil," they also carried home two important lessons. First, the people of this country had indicated that they stood behind an international institution of some kind, and, second, they had fended off the attempt to base such an institution on economic and military sanctions. Hull saw in this interpretation the merging of internationalist and pacifist sentiment, a fact in which Quakers should rejoice. While he was thankful for the defeat of the League, Hull concluded by asking if Friends were prepared to work for the substitution of co-operation and law for imperialism and war in international relations.[33]

The reply of Rayner W. Kelsey to Hull is significant. Kelsey believed that it was a somewhat too simple interpretation of the election to say that it showed a linkage of internationalism and pacifism in American thought. He had grave doubts that a vote for Harding necessarily was a protest against the use of force as a League sanction: "No doubt many were opposed to using *American* force in European affairs. That, however, is the attitude of nationalism, not pacifism." Kelsey was satisfied that Friends did not want to be placed in the position of obstructing progress simply because it was not perfection. He recalled that Quakers had supported ameliorative measures regarding slavery, prohibition, and disarmament. In conclusion, he observed: "Many Friends likewise have a deep concern that we should favor every step, however short, away from international anarchy toward international government, at the same time declaring our ultimate ideal in no uncertain voice. . . ."[34]

Here the matter stood in the early days of 1921. On the one side, there were the Quakers who were firmly convinced that to

---

[32] Conference of All Friends, *Official Report* (London, 1920), pp. 163-64, 81-82.

[33] William I. Hull, "The League of Nations: Its Present and Future," *Intelligencer,* LXXVII (December 11, 1920), 790-91.

[34] Rayner W. Kelsey, "The League of Nations—Its Future," *The Friend* (Philadelphia), XCIV (February 3, 1921), 377-78.

support the League would have been to forsake their most fundamental principles; on the other, there were those who were certain that these basic principles could be realized in the world of practical affairs only by working through the institutions at hand.

During the first year of World War I, there had begun a sifting process in Friends' search for the appropriate arrangement of the international community. In the beginning, the general program advocated by some Quakers included proposals for those agencies ordinarily regarded as necessary to a world organization, and it did not rule out the vital enforcement function. By the middle of 1915, however, it was becoming clear to more and more Friends that they would be unable to support those plans which called for enforcement of the international order by military means. When a specific proposal, the League of Nations, was offered the world, many Quakers gave it their approval as the best possible organization under the circumstances; but, it appears, more Friends opposed it, urging that it (and the Versailles Treaty of which it was a part) be revised.

Perhaps the principal spokesmen of Quaker disapproval of the Peace Settlement were Henry Ferris and William I. Hull. While these men were "reservationists" at some points in their arguments, they were "rewriters" for the most part, demanding changes so fundamental that the drafting of a new document would have been required. The Ferris-Hull school of thought regarded Big-Power control of the League as evidence of the evil potentialities of the organization: the League was almost the equivalent of an "old-fashioned" alliance among a few of the victors, and as such would not contribute to world disarmament; moreover, the prospects of the ending of war would not be enhanced, but rather would be imperiled by the placing of the "war-making power" in the hands of the major military states.

It seems to this writer that these fears were more imaginary than real, and that the more valid basis for concern lay in being confronted with the alternatives offered by Ferris and Hull: reject the League or frame a new and different world organization. The difficulty, it appears, consisted in the strong probability that such a confrontation presented no alternative in the fall of 1919, for American abstention from membership in the international organization would be the result in either case. It is not clear on what

grounds Ferris and Hull believed that a second conference (which is what, in essence, their program required) could have achieved results markedly different from those produced at Paris less than a year earlier. It is apparent that whatever changes might have been effected, their objections would not have been met. Moreover, the irony of their stand is evident. By urging, in effect, that there be no league if the only other choice were the League of Nations, Ferris and Hull not only did not deal efficaciously with the problem of controlling the "war-making power," but also would have left no option but to permit an internationally-unregulated use of military power—certainly a conclusion which neither man viewed with equanimity. In spite of the education and training of Hull particularly, and the honorable intentions of both, the position which they took should be described as unrealistic and obstructive of the only contemporaneously feasible approach to those ultimate goals which they themselves advocated.

Quaker advocates of the League of Nations, in their turn, saw the organization in a different light. They were cognizant of the structure's lack of perfection, but they did not allow this recognition to blind them to the necessity, as they viewed it, of having the United States join and work from within for improvement. Because of the original provision that membership be nearly universal, these Friends did not agree that the League could be denominated simply an alliance. If the composition of the Council indicated the likelihood of Big-Power control of the world organization, it was appropriate to accept this as a manifestation of the realities of international relations rather than to ignore it because of disapproval. Pro-League Quakers were quick to realize and to point out that the League would have functions other than the one of enforcement—peaceful settlement of disputes, development of a disarmament program, formulation of plans for social advancement, and protection of small countries.

It is now clear that in the years which followed, the League (or its directing members) failed to implement or to fulfill certain of its functions, and it is possible that advocates of the organization placed too much faith in the effectiveness of the world body. Even so, it is worth noting that many Friends were perceptive enough to envision the League as something more than a general security organization, and to include this realization among the

various aspects which required consideration in forming an opinion about the League. These Quakers had concluded that, on balance, American membership at Geneva was the first and most practical step which could be taken in pursuing the cause of a warless world.

With reference to the attitude toward the League taken by the official bodies of Friends investigated herein, it is clear that the Ferris-Hull point of view had carried the day in 1920. At the All Friends Conference in London, however, the possibility of working within the League for reform had been offered as one path of action. This was substantially the position taken by Quaker advocates of the League.

But to strive for improvement inside the organization as a member of it was removed from the area of immediate possibility (as far as the United States was concerned) by the results of the Presidential election of 1920.[35] In the mistaken opinion of William Hull, the Republican victory represented American public support for both internationalism and pacifism. His observation seems to have been fallacious in both its particulars, as was pointed out by Rayner Kelsey, whose doubt that a vote for Harding was a manifestation of an internationalist sentiment was well-grounded. Kelsey is also believed to have been correct in his view that the opposition of the American people to possible American participation in sanctions was more expressive of a nationalistic than of a pacifist attitude.

The appearance of Kelsey's rejoinder to Hull in the early weeks of 1921 is a convenient point at which to close this consideration of Friends and the League as the subject found expression in the immediate postwar period. Primarily, for the Quakers, this had been a period of examination of the relationship between pacifism and internationalism. Historically, they had been pacifists; also, they had taken part in "international service," in the sense that they had tried to lend assistance, when they were able, to people in countries other than their own, when the need was seen

---

[35] Warren Harding's ambiguous position during the campaign was quickly clarified in his post-election declaration: "You just didn't want a surrender of the United States of America; you wanted America to go on under American ideals. That's why you didn't care for the League which is now deceased." Quoted in Walter Sharp and Grayson Kirk, *Contemporary International Politics* (New York, 1944), p. 533.

to exist. But now the Friends were face-to-face with the problem of maintaining their traditional peace testimony while having the United States participate in an international political organization —the ever-present problem of trying to find a way to make an absolute principle an operative principle in practical affairs.

This early consideration of the League and what Friends' attitudes toward it should be was only the beginning of a process which would continue throughout the years that finally led to World War II.[36] But it was an indispensable beginning. The exploration in 1919 and 1920 helped define the problem, clarify the possible alternatives, and provide a re-evaluation of certain concepts which had originally grown out of conviction but which had subsequently come to be held by many Quakers simply because they were part of a tradition. On the whole, the Society of Friends emerged as a religious group better acquainted with the meaning of its peace testimony and better informed on the facts of international life. In the years ahead, Quakerism had (and continues to have) much to be grateful for as a consequence of the post-World-War-I searching of mind and soul.

---

[36] For an account of the development during the interwar years, see the author's "Quaker Pacifism in the United States, 1919-1942, with special reference to its relation to Isolationism and Internationalism" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1954), ch. III.

Notes and Documents

THE CHRONICLES OF JOHN AND ZACHARIAH AN INCIDENT IN THE HISTORY OF MIDWESTERN PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS

Edited by WILLARD C. HEISS*

The following document, dealing with a little-known phase of Quaker history, is extremely rare.[1] Rare as a piece of printing, it is equally rare as an example of humorous Quakeriana.

Long discord in Indiana Yearly Meeting (Hicksite) had culminated in 1844 in the laying down of Green Plain Quarterly Meeting. This dissension had arisen primarily over irreconcilable methods of treating the slavery problem within the framework of the Discipline. Proposals were made to change the Discipline by altering or eliminating the authority of the Meeting of Ministers and Elders. Other innovations were also agitated. Almost all the meetings were affected to some degree, but none so seriously as Green Plain. The disaffected members throughout the Yearly Meeting finally organized themselves as Progressive or Congregational Friends.[2]

The following paper has to do with the state of affairs in Miami Monthly Meeting, Waynesville, Ohio, in 1846.

CHRONICLES
CHAPTER I

1. And it came to pass in the days of James,[3] who was reigning

---

* Willard C. Heiss of Indianapolis is especially interested in the history of Friends in Indiana.

[1] A copy of this scarce broadside has recently been given to the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College.

[2] See Allen C. Thomas, "Congregational or Progressive Friends: A Forgotten Episode in Quaker History," BULLETIN OF FRIENDS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, X (1920), 21-31.

[3] James K. Polk, 11th President of the United States (1845-1849).

over the twenty-seven provinces of the United States; and at the time Mordecai[4] was Governor of Ohio; that an honest man, whose name was Zachariah,[5] being moved by the Spirit began to preach to the children of George Fox, saying,

2. "Ye have backslidden, and become a stiff-necked people observing forms instead of the substance, and unless ye repent, and become baptized with fire and with the Holy Ghost, ye cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven."

3. And as he was moved by the Spirit, he divers times met in the assemblies of his kinsfolk, and his neighbors, and preached unto them; he also, as the way opened preached in the assemblies of the Baptists, the orthodox Quakers, and the Methodists.

4. Wherefore, some of the young Priesthood, being moved with a fiery zeal, summoned Zachariah to give an account of his stewardship to the Miami monthly Convocation.

5. And the Convocation appointed David, James and Joseph, all goodly men, as a Committee to visit Zachariah, and to make a righteous report of his state of mind, to a succeeding monthly Convocation.[6]

6. And the Committee visited him three times, in three successive months, and reported to the Convocation in these words, "We have visited Zachariah to a good degree of satisfaction, and are willing he should be continued a member."

7. Then Amos, the joking priest, and Abram the little prophet, said—We are not satisfied with the report of the Committee, and we are of the mind, that Zachariah ought to be cast out of the camp.

8. But the body of the convocation said, Zachariah is a worthy man, God forbid that he should be cast out of the camp; so there

---

[4] Mordecai Bartley, 13th Governor of Ohio (1844-1846).

[5] Zachariah M. Johnson (1786-1848), a member of Miami Monthly Meeting of (Hicksite) Friends.

[6] Minutes (Men's) of Miami Monthly Meeting, Eighth Month 27, 1845: "Grove Preparative Meeting [located at Harveysburg, Warren County] informs that Zachariah M. Johnson has been neglectful in the attendance of our meetings and has appointed meetings contrary to the order of Friends; *James* Hollingsworth, *Joseph* Hollingsworth and *David* Brown were appointed to visit him on the occasion and report to next meeting."

was a division of sentiment in the convocation, and much debate ensued.

9. And when they could not decide the matter at that time, the said Committee was continued, with the addition thereto of Amos, the joking priest, and Jonah and Israel and James the scribe, to visit Zachariah again, and report his state of mind to the next monthly convocation.[7]

10. And when the next convocation arrived, Amos the joking priest, reported for himself, and Israel and James the scribe, saying, "We visited Zachariah and did not find in him a suitable disposition of mind to make satisfaction."

11. And Jonah arose, and reported for the majority of the Committee, saying, "We visited Zachariah, and he told us, that he had, some time ago, been at a loss what course to pursue, and he had tarried for a while as at Jerusalem; but *now* he was willing, and thought it was right for him to support the order of Friends, in attending all meetings as far as he was capable. This now is about the state of mind we found Zachariah in. Now Friends, judge righteously."

12. And the Scribe wrote a minute, while Jonah was yet speaking, and when he closed the above report, the Scribe arose without delay, and read his minute in these words, "The committee to visit Zachariah reported, "We have visited him and did not think him in a disposition of mind to make satisfaction, with which the meeting unites."

13. Now it was on this wise, that a very small portion of the meeting had united with this report of Amos, the joking priest; but, on the other hand, above three-fourths of the meeting opposed this

---

[7] Minutes (Men's) of Miami Monthly Meeting, Twelfth Month 24, 1845: "The committee have again visited Zachariah M. Johnson to a good degree of satisfaction and he informed us he was willing and thought it right to support the discipline and testimonies of the Society in their purity according to ability and the committee are willing he should be continued a member, and as to the charges brought against him he thought he had not violated the spirit of the Discipline, although his course had been somewhat singular; which not being satisfactory to all. the committee were continued with the addition of *Amos* Cook, *Jonah* Cadwallader, *Israel* Brown and *James* M. Janney, who are to report to next meeting." James M. Janney was clerk of the meeting.

report, as being ungenerous and unjust towards the individual in question. Yet the Scribe adhered firmly to his minute, and urged that names should be forwarded to him, to prepare a testification against Zachariah.[8]

14. Here the matter stood, while the opposing voice of the people, which was both loud and long, remonstrated against this Decree of the Pharisees, which is monstrous injustice!

15. But the Scribe finally prevailed, in obedience to Amos the joking priest, and Abram the little prophet, and a few Pharisees; and when a calm ensued in the meeting, Israel was appointed to prepare a Testification, against Zachariah.

16. And this was done on the 21st day of the 1st month in the year 1846—and Jonah answered and said, "Father forgive them for they know not what they do."

17. And behold! the end of the matter was, Zachariah was cast out of the camp—or so far as the monthly convocation had the power, he was expelled from Paradise! But glory to the Father of Mercies, the love of God, and the love of the brethren still rest on Zachariah. So mote it be.

CHAPTER II

1. And furthermore, it came to pass, in the reign of James the President, and of Mordecai the Governor, there lived a righteous man whose name was John,[9] and he dwelt in Michigan.

---

[8] Minutes (Men's) of Miami Monthly Meeting, First Month 21, 1846: "One of the Friends appointed, reported that they visited Zachariah M. Johnson and did not think him in a suitable disposition of mind to make satisfaction. Israel Brown and Samuel Gause were appointed to prepare a testimony against him and inform him thereof and produce it to next meeting."

[9] John Mott, born at South Hempstead, Long Island in 1783. He married Hannah Townsend in 1805 at Westchester, New York. He was called to the ministry when he was thirty-two. He later removed to Rensselaerville, N. Y., where he kept a private school from 1827 to 1837. In 1837 he moved to Michigan, where he bought a farm in Parma Township, Jackson County, near Hickory Grove. He was active in Friends' meetings in Michigan, and in November 1845, he set out for Ohio and Indiana with his friend *Joseph* Merritt to visit Friends in those states. He was taken ill near Adrian, Michigan, when only two days out from Hickory Grove. Before he was able to proceed farther, he was called home by the death

2. And the spirit said unto him, "Go thou into the regions of Ohio, and as thou goest proclaim the glad tidings of salvation, which may be to all people.

3. ["]And into whatsoever city or town thou entereth, say peace be to this place, and if they receive thee as the servant of the Most High, dwell thou there for a time, and expound to them the law of the Lord.

4. ["]But if they will not receive thee in any town or city, thence depart, and shake off the very dust of thy shoes as a testimony that they are unworthy of thy mission.["]

5. So John, whose sir-name was Mott, was not disobedient to the heavenly Vision, but he harnessed his chariot, and took with him a man of meekness, and wisdom, as his companion in travel, and they journeyed on, rejoicing in the love of God shed abroad in their hearts.

6. And when they entered into Waynesville on the 14th of the 2d month, in the year 1846, the children of George Fox were holding their Miami Quarterly Convocation, and John and Joseph assembled amongst them.

7. And when the congregation were silent for the space of half an hour, John opened his mouth, and taught the people with great pathos and power, saying,

8. "Repent, and be ye baptized, and receive the kingdom prepared for you, from the foundation of the world."

9. And a profound solemnity covered the people, and they felt that the words of John were truth, and said to David[10] the Scribe, "give John and Joseph a writing, as a testimony that they attended this Convocation acceptably."

10. And David wrote, saying, "Our beloved Friend John Mott, a

---

of his wife, December 26. He and Merritt set out again in the middle of January 1846. No details of the trip are given. This summary was supplied the writer by F. Clever Bald, Michigan Historical Collections, University of Michigan, from a manuscript copy of a pamphlet entitled *A Testimony of the Western Half Year's Meeting of Friends Concerning Our Deceased Friend John Mott: Who Died the 12th Day of the 10th Month, in 1848, in the 66th Year of His Age* (Detroit: Jabez Fox, Printer, Bulletin Office, 1850.)

[10] David Evans, Clerk of the Quarterly Meeting.

minister, acceptably attended this meeting," to which the people heartily responded, amen!

11. But a little Pharisee objected, saying, "I may be alone in my sentiment, but I would not give John this Writing."

12. Then Amos, the joking priest, and Abram the little prophet, raised their voices, and accused John and Joseph of belonging to a Quarterly Meeting of New York, which had laid down their meeting of ministers and Elders, and therefore they said, that John and Joseph did not deserve this Writing.

13. And straightway a tumult arose among the Pharisees, and they cried out as with one voice, that John and Joseph did not deserve said writing, because the New York Quarterly Meeting was not exactly after the pattern of the Miami Quarterly Convocation—so they were urgent with David the Scribe, not to give them said Writing.

14. And David was, for some time, in a great strait what to do, between the clamor of the Pharisees on the one side, and the voice of the people on the other.

15. Nevertheless, he wrote as follows: "John and Joseph attended this meeting," which writing[11] he signed on behalf of the meeting, and they heard it with this aspiration, saying, "Father, forgive these Pharisees, which prefer the *form* to the *substance,* for they know no better."

16. And John arose, and in meekness asked leave of the meeting, to read a slip of paper, which he held in his hand, naming the time and places of four or five meetings, which he desired to attend.

17. And the people answered "yea verily! read thy list," but Amos, the joking priest, and Abram the little prophet, said "Nay!" and the Pharisees responded "Nay!" wherefore John read not his notice.

18. Thereupon, a worthy youth, Aquilla[12] by name, answered

---

[11] Minutes of Miami Quarterly Meeting, Second Month 14, 1846: "John Mott attended this meeting and produced a minute from Hickory Grove Monthly Meeting, endorsed by Michigan Quarterly Meeting. Joseph Merritt in Company, from Battle Creek Monthly Meeting, Michigan Quarter."

[12] Not identified.

boldly, saying,—"It seems to me, that a portion of this meeting, instead of regarding the Divine Monitor in the soul, are looking outwardly, and judging our worthy Friends from outward sight, as the Disciples of Jesus did formerly when they were sent to preach and cast out devils.

19. "They found a man casting out Devils in Christ's name and they forbade him, because, said they to Jesus, 'he followeth not with us.'

20. "But Christ reproved his Disciples, by saying, 'forbid him not, for he that is not against us is for us.'

21. "Now, Friends, the same reproving voice is applicable to us of this Meeting, with relation to our beloved friends John and Joseph: we can find no fault with them or their ministry, but a portion of us would forbid them to preach, because the Quarterly Meeting to which they belong, is not after the pattern of our Quarterly Convocation."

22. And the rest of the Acts of Amos, the joking priest, and of Abram the little prophet, and what they did, and how they made war on the *modest* Gravestones[13] of the dead, and caused the living to *mourn,* are they not written [in] the memory of the people of Zion?

DANIEL[14]

---

[13] Minutes (Men's) of Miami Monthly Meeting, Eleventh Month 2, 1845: A committee was appointed to "remove or cause to be removed all monuments established in our grave yard in order that our testimony on that subject be maintained. . . ." In Third Month 1846: "The committee on the subject of our grave yard reported compliance with their appointment." The Discipline reads: "Friends are also enjoined, to maintain our testimony against affixing monuments of any description to graves, for the purpose of distinction, in any of our burying grounds; and if any yet remain therein, that they be forthwith removed." In 1869 the Discipline was revised to read: "They are not to erect grave-stones higher than ten inches above the level of the ground, nor more than fourteen inches wide, nor three inches thick, entirely plain, and with only the necessary name and date thereon."

[14] Not identified.

WILLIAM HOBSON, QUAKER DIARIST

By EDWARD P. THATCHER*

"Attended School and meeting. I was favored with a good degree of power in the ministry." These words from the diary of William Hobson, Quaker, were written in Newberg, Oregon, Seventh Month 31, 1887. The school referred to is Friends Pacific Academy, then just two years along in its history toward the present George Fox College. The meeting was Newberg Monthly Meeting of Friends, established in October 1875 by William Hobson and other Orthodox Friends recently of Honey Creek Meeting, New Providence, Iowa. Newberg, through the efforts of William Hobson, thus became the first Quaker community west of the Rockies.

The diaries of William Hobson have recently been loaned by his granddaughter, Laura Blair, to the University of Oregon Library. To insure preservation of the paper and the legibility of the penciled entries the diaries have been microfilmed. The microfilms are retained in fireproof stacks and are available for study by historians and other scholars.

William Hobson was born to Quaker parents, Second Month 4, 1820 in Yadkin (then Surry) County, North Carolina. He worked in his father's grain mill and blacksmith's forge, attending school very little until the age of eighteen. While at Friends Boarding School at New Garden (now Guilford College), North Carolina during the winter months for three years after becoming eighteen, he became proficient in spelling and written expression. Of his work at home he relates: "my labor was well worth 50 cents per day to my father on an average for every working day. Which though small; Yet for that country and the times, is still a satisfactory reflection; that I was not more cost than profit in my raising."

From 1841, when he last attended the New Garden Friends' School, then in its third year, until 1859, when he began a continuous daily record of his activities, there are no records known

* Edward P. Thatcher is on the staff of the Library of the University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon.

in Oregon of William Hobson other than a single written statement that with wife and two small children he left Surry County in 1847 for Iowa. Most of his diary entries are brief: "Took in corn," "Worked on house," "Vitrioled my oats," "Riv'd boards," "Sorted my Winesap Apples," "Attended School and meeting." There are, however, longer entries, written during each of his three major trips in the interests of Friends' ministry. He made trips to California and Oregon in 1871, 1874, and finally with his family to the Willamette Valley in October 1875. On these trips he distributed copies of writings of Fox and Barclay, and many hundreds of Friends' tracts.

That William Hobson usually spoke to whatever meeting he attended is assumed from the number of times he makes clear "the good relief by speaking" that he experienced and from the fact that he notes travel to Friends' and Methodists' meeting places. Often his travel was on foot and well into the hinterlands of Oregon and Washington Territory. He left a notebook of religious thoughts and quotations, which, we may assume, provided texts for much preaching.

The diary of William Hobson not only documents early Quaker settlement and the spread of Christian ministry in Oregon, but because William Hobson recorded the costs of his major purchases and sales and wrote in detail of travel conditions and traveling expenses, supplies an important unit in the mosaic picture the historian is continually designing of American life and manners.

As stated, there is little record here to tell us anything about Hobson between 1841 and 1859. During this interval he married and with two children he and his wife traveled to central Iowa. Later, during his western travels, he records writing many letters to relatives, some of which may yet exist among family papers in North Carolina and Iowa. Neither these nor records of his migration to Iowa are here. Letters, as personal narratives, may be more revealing to Quaker historians than his diary, which notes chiefly his activities as a husbandman of the land.

William Hobson was a leader among Quakers, an interpreter of the Lord's word and will to nineteenth-century Quakers, who sought life from the rich American land. There were others like him, leaders, interpreters, listeners, whose written expression

forms a substantial background to American history. Diaries and letters are an important means of understanding our past. Some, like these of William Hobson, require microfilming and annotation. All require safe storage. Libraries designed for research and scholarship are seeking records made yesterday and today, by the famous as well as the most ordinary.

A VISIT TO WHITTIER IN 1881

Edited by HENRY J. CADBURY

There are many accounts of visits to the Quaker poet, some of them by other Friends, written from later memory, and some written up for literary magazines.[1] The private contemporary record which is printed here for the first time is more informal than most, as indeed was the interview itself. It confirms rather than adds to the other impressions, but it may be worth publishing in this anniversary year.

Caroline Cadbury (1842-1928), from whose journal this excerpt is taken, was the sixth child of a Quaker family of eight, born to Benjamin Head Cadbury and his wife Candia Wadkin of Birmingham. The one brother, Joel, married and had children. Caroline was one of six spinster sisters, whose later home was at Pendlehyrst, Bristol Road. One of them was a nurse and friend of Florence Nightingale.[2] Like other branches of the family, they kept contact by interchange of visits with their Cadbury cousins in America. Caroline, accompanied by her sister Hannah, was on such a visit, combined with travel and sightseeing, in 1881, when she made the visit to John Greenleaf Whittier described in her diary under date Friday, November 4, 1881. From 1891 to 1898 she was on the staff of Friends Mission at Brummana, Syria.

We are indebted to the diarist's niece Christabel Cadbury for extracting this account and making it available.

At Danvers our good landlord woke us up with a bell and the maid had scorching hot rolls ready for us—our yesterday's man at

---

[1] See T. Franklin Currier, *A Bibliography of John Greenleaf Whittier* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1937), pp. 485-546.

[2] See M. Christabel Cadbury, *The Story of a Nightingale Nurse* (London, 1939).

the door to drive us to the R.R. Station, and via Newbury Port we get to Amesbury. "Pouring rain, you cannot walk," said the Station Master, and agreed with a hack man to come back for us, and we were soon at the unpretending frame house, walking up the little path that led through the wicket. "Mr. Whittier at home?" "Yes." So we send in H.J.Sturge's letter and our cards and are waiting in a little low ceilinged parlour. In two or three minutes a tall silvery haired gentleman enters, perfectly erect, with a serene beautiful face which looks as if it had left the shoals and tempests of life behind a long way; his head is high and rather narrow, with a fine forehead, and if I remember rightly, slopes to great firmness at the back. He received us courteously and asked us into his study at the back where he had been sitting before an open fire of wood burning on the earth. Two or three well stocked open book cases were on the walls. He talked about the recent cold spell, said that this autumn the foliage was not nearly so beautiful as usual, a very sharp frost had come all at once and made the leaves drop. He remembered one autumn a heavy snow fell while the leaves were of gorgeous colour still on the trees and the effect was beautiful. He spoke of the deep snows: "Last winter we were almost snowed [sic] at Danvers for several days and when we got out had to walk along a narrow track with the snow heaped up high on each side. Oh! yes, tenting was quite common here, there is a long reach of sand which runs along the coast and which perhaps you passed as you came here . . . Oh! yes, we read Stanley[3] a great deal here—indeed I have much sympathy with the Bunsens[4] and Arnold[5] and Hughes[6] and Stanley's views;

[3] Arthur Penrhyn Stanley (1815-1881), Dean of Westminster, a preacher and writer of broad theological sympathies, who insisted that the essence of Christianity lay not in doctrine but in character.

[4] Christian Karl Josias, Baron Bunsen (1791-1860) was a liberal theologian and a hymnwriter as well as a Prussian diplomat. His widow, Frances Waddington Bunsen, wrote a *Memoir* of her husband, which was very popular both in England and the United States.

[5] Either Thomas Arnold (1795-1842), the famous Master of Rugby and "Broad Church" leader, or Sir Edwin Arnold (1832-1904), poet and journalist, author of *The Light of Asia* and, later, of *The Light of the World*. A copy of the latter's *Death—and Afterwards* (London, 1888) which was once in Whittier's library is now in the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College.

[6] Thomas Hughes (1822-1896), Christian Socialist and author of

he, Stanley, believes the Quaker doctrine—it used to be the old Quaker doctrine, I don't know if it be the present—of a measure of light given to every man." When he found we had been to Danvers first, he was sorry we had had so much trouble—how were we going to get to the station, and would go out to look for our carriage—he took us round his room—"This is my friend Emerson, a very good likeness I consider it." He had a broad forehead . . . he lifted up a photo of Lucretia Mott, a Hicksite of great usefulness in the Abolition times, and he pointed out a lovely group of ferns painted beautifully, marvelled we had not seen any in Canada. He showed us a beautiful picture of his Mother, a sweet Friend with lovely eyes and firmly closed American mouth and soft Friendly dress, and his sister whose eyes were like her Mother, but you could not depict by a picture the light and brightness that came into his eyes as he talked. "You would like to see my friend Longfellow," he said deliberately, and each thing he said came out of a depth of quiet thought and he went and wrote us a card of introduction there. "I am not sure if he is well enough to see you, but you will see his daughter"—and so he most courteously bid us Farewell.

We got to Boston about one, having the pleasant company of J. G. Whittier's doctor part of the way. "The most modest and retiring of men," he said, speaking of J.G.W. "When not well he sent down word to my house: 'If thee has a little time to spare please come and see me, I am not feeling quite well.' . . . Of course I would gladly have come anytime," said the kindly Doctor, and he told us that Whittier's old home was at Haverhill of which he had a painting on the study walls; after his Mother's death, he came and lived with his niece, he and she together at this house till she married a writer (or editor) for a journal, I think, and now he keeps some rooms on still at Amesbury, but mostly lives at Danvers with a niece and cousin.

Tom Brown's School Days. Whittier's copy of his book *The Manliness of Christ* (1882) is now in the Friends Historical Library.

HENRI HERZ' DESCRIPTION OF THE AMERICAN QUAKERS

Edited by HENRY BERTRAM HILL AND LARRY GARA*

Many travel accounts written by European visitors to the United States in the nineteenth century contain descriptions of Friends and of the Society of Friends. For the most part, such descriptive material was based on observations made of Friends in Philadelphia or its environs. The French pianist and composer, Henri Herz,[1] also included an account of the Quakers in his travel book which was published in France in 1866.[2] Herz, however, placed his Quaker material in his section on New York rather than Philadelphia.

Little of Herz' account of the Quakers was based on firsthand observation. He gave no indication of having visited a Friends Meeting or having talked with Friends. Some of his facts, obviously gleaned from printed accounts or conversation, were garbled. He reduced Quaker tenets to four, omitting all mention of the Inner Light, his anti-British prejudice led him to poke fun at Quaker pacifism, and he confused the Quakers with the Shakers. Despite these serious shortcomings his account is of interest today because it furnishes a picture of Quakerism which was circulated in mid-nineteenth century France. While there is no evidence that his book had a very wide circulation, Herz was an influential figure

---

* Henry Bertram Hill is Professor of History at the University of Wisconsin. Larry Gara is Professor of American History at Grove City College, Grove City, Pennsylvania.

[1] Although he was a native of Austria, Heinrich Herz (1806-1888) considered himself French. He received his musical education in Paris and used the professional name Henri Herz. He had a long and successful career which included a professorship at the Paris Conservatory, a number of concert tours, two ventures in the business of manufacturing fine pianos, and the building of a concert hall. Although some critics claimed Herz lacked first-rate artistic ability, his concerts and more than two hundred compositions were very popular in his day. H. C. Colles, ed., *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (3d ed., New York, 1927-1928), II, 620-621.

[2] Herz came to America in 1846. He toured North and South America for five years and, after returning home, he wrote one of a projected two volumes containing his reactions to and descriptions of life in the Americas, *Mes voyages en Amérique* (Paris, 1866).

in the musical world of his time. His impressions undoubtedly supplied many a French reader with a description of the sect whose members, Herz conceded, despite all their follies, had "admirable qualities and a gentleness of spirit" among their chief characteristics.[3]

Don Manuel[4] and I entered several churches belonging to different sects, and it was in New York that I saw Quakers for the first time in my life—a man and a woman. This couple, austere and morally respectable, I am sure, made a ridiculous public appearance. In America, where everyone dresses in just the way everyone else does, where even the Catholic priests wear little or nothing to distinguish them from other men, the Quakers have adopted the plainest sort of attire. For the men, this uniform-like garb consists of a somber-hued coat, wide trousers, broad and heavy shoes, a low-crowned, wide-brimmed hat, plus a cane such as doctors in France used to carry in the last century and Monsieur Joseph Prudhomme[5] still continues to use in our day. The women, clothed below with heavy shoes and blue wool stockings, cover their heads with a kind of cap resembling a cowl, and their shoulders with a wide triangular shawl. They encase themselves in tight-fitting, pleatless dresses, which make them look like umbrellas in their sheaths, which they all the more resemble because of their stiff and measured gait. Add to all this a green apron, and I tell you that not even the charms of a Venus de Medici could overcome such treatment.

One gets the best understanding of these people in their meetinghouses. They shake in order to call down upon them the favors of the Holy Spirit, and members of both sexes and all ages preach whenever they feel God's inspiration. God knows what extravagant sermons Quakers have made the responsibilities of

---

[3] The portion of Herz' book reprinted here was translated from the French by Henry Bertram Hill.

[4] Don Manuel was the son of a wealthy Havana planter, who acted as Herz' guide in New York.

[5] This is probably a reference to the fictional Monsieur Joseph Prudhomme, a conceited character created by the French author Henri Monnier and popularized in his *Les Mémoires de Joseph Prudhomme,* published in 1857.

that unfortunate Divinity! But, along with all these follies, the Quakers have admirable qualities and a gentleness of spirit which from the time of their founding have distinguished them from the Presbyterians, with whom they were once associated in England. Their tenets, four in number, are as much social and political as they are religious. They are so little known that I will repeat them here:

1. The civil authority should exercise no control over religious belief.
2. Oaths demanded by the state are illicit; a simple declaration, affirmative or negative, should suffice.
3. War is contrary to the law of God, and one should refuse to bear arms or to give evidence of joy at the news of a victory.
4. Ministers of the faith should receive no salary. Like the apostles, they should sustain themselves from the offerings of the faithful. Any Quaker, incidentally, can obtain that sacerdotal title without any formal ordination, simply by consent of the assembly.

The association of Quakers, which was founded in England by George Fox, a shoemaker of the village of Drayton, in the county of Leicester, originally was called *the Family of Love.* In 1680 William Penn, having inherited a credit of 400,000 francs owed to his father by the English government, arranged in exchange for that sum, to take possession of and sovereignty over the vast territory in America contiguous with New Jersey to the west of Delaware. Penn, accompanied by a number of Quakers, settled those lands, which were henceforth called Pennsylvania. It became a sort of homeland for the Quakers, who made themselves as much loved by the other settlers as the representatives of the Britannic government were feared. Friends of justice and liberty, the Quakers from the moment of their arrival in America were the declared adversaries of the despotism which weighed so heavily on the colonies. When Washington raised the standard of independence, a certain number of Quakers concluded that trembling and talking in meeting would not suffice to assure the success of the revolution. So they formed a sect of Independent Quakers, took up arms against the English, and fought courageously, several of them becoming distinguished officers. It goes

without saying that the orthodox Quakers of the first church considered the conduct of the Independent Quakers totally unacceptable, and continued to observe tenet number three as one of the most respectable of their beliefs.

Along with these ultra-pacific Quakers and the sect of Independent Quakers, who knew how both to tremble before God and defend themselves against the enemies of liberty, there exists in Lebanon, one hundred and forty miles from New York, an establishment of shaking Quakers. These Quakers, more given to convulsions than the others, base their faith on the verses in the Old Testament where it is said that David danced before the ark of the Lord. From this they have conjectured that dancing must be infinitely pleasing to God, and that the best means of getting into His good graces is to dance as well and as much as possible. So they dance as others pray, and every Sunday they hold a ball in their meetinghouse, men on one side and women on the other. This sect is one of the great curiosities of that curious new world, but unless I am very much mistaken, even that bizarre group, because of its morality and austerity, has long exercised a most salutary influence in America.

Quaker Research in Progress

Information concerning Quaker studies in progress but not published should be sent to Henry J. Cadbury, Chairman of the Committee on Historical Research, 774 Millbrook Lane, Haverford, Pennsylvania.

Fred H. Blum, 30 Arthur Avenue, S.E., Minneapolis 14, Minnesota. Friends and the Industrial Order. (A systematic study of the meaning of the Friends' basic convictions in regard to the industrial-social order.)

William Bacon Evans, 765 College Avenue, Haverford, Pennsylvania. Jonathan Evans and His Time. (Biographical sketch, with an unpublished account of the Separation of 1827.)

Carroll S. Feagins, Guilford College, North Carolina. Critiques of Pacifism by Some American and British Philosophers since 1914. (The five philosophers discussed are Brand Blanshard, D. Elton Trueblood, Charles Hartshorne, Paul Weiss, and Bertrand Russell.) Northwestern University: thesis for Ph. D. degree, 1954.

Geoffrey F. Nuttall, 2 Brim Hill, London, N. 2. The Impact of Quakerism (on Wales in the 1650's) in connection with Walter Cradock, Vavasor Powell, and Morgan Lloyd and Their People. Lecture delivered at University College of North Wales, 1957.

R. A. Mott, Lynwood, Clarkehouse Road, Sheffield, England, assisted by M. I. Berrill. The Early Use of Coke for Iron-Making. (First used by Abraham Darby, a Friend of Coalbrookdale, in 1709.)

Richenda C. Scott, Brynsiencyn, Anglesey, Wales. The Rise of the Modern Quaker Movement with Particular Reference to the Thought of John Wilhelm Rowntree.

H. Rossiter Smith, 8, Tenison Road, Cambridge, England. Thomas Wilkinson. (The Romantic poets and social problems of the eighteenth century.)

Reginald Arthur Smith, White House, Albury Heath, near Guildford, Surrey, England. Biography of Carl Heath.

Richard T. Vann, 2 Porter Circle, Cambridge 40, Massachusetts. The Social Background of Quaker Converts, 1660-1740. (The Quaker records for Somerset, Bristol, Lancashire, Norwich, and Norfolk will be used to determine the social and family structure of the Society of Friends after the Restoration.) Harvard University: History, thesis for Ph. D. degree.

Historical News

Friends Historical Association

For its Spring Meeting on Fifth Month 18, 1957, Friends Historical Association went to the old Exeter Meetinghouse in Berks County, Pennsylvania. Exeter Meeting was settled in the Oley Valley above Pottstown and Reading over 255 years ago; the present meetinghouse will be 200 years old in 1958. And last year the meeting was reconstituted as a monthly meeting after a lapse of over fifty years. Several members of the newly constituted meeting—Herbert Jackson, and Victor and Edna May Child Bieber—retold the story of the meeting; John E. Eshelman, a local historian of Berks County, answered questions about Exeter and other meetings in the county; David S. Keiser reported some new findings as to the Quaker connections of Abraham Lincoln's family, who lived in the neighborhood in the eighteenth century.

Many of the sixty-five Friends present followed the suggestions of the Entertainment Committee, and availed themselves of the opportunity to visit Pottsgrove in Pottstown, to call at the Biebers' Thornbeck Farm near Amityville, where the house dates from about 1735, and to inspect the Hopewell Furnace National Monument. At the conclusion of the meeting Exeter Friends furnished refreshments for the picnic supper which was held at the Daniel Boone Homestead nearby.

From Quaker Libraries

Three interesting items recently added to the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College concern the tentative plan of Ludwig van Beethoven to compose an opera dealing with William Penn and the founding of Pennsylvania. The letters, written in 1948 by an official of the Vienna Akademie für Musik and by the American music critic Deems Taylor in reply to inquiries, substantiate the fact that around 1820 a young Viennese poet named Johann Baptist (or Janitschek) Rupprecht, who had earlier had some of his verses set to music by Beethoven, wrote

a sketch for the Penn libretto and showed it to the great composer. Beethoven is said to have liked the idea, but, being busy with his D-major Mass, he laid it aside and never took it up again. The libretto of *Die Gründung von Pennsylvanien* still existed in 1877 among the Beethoven papers of the composer's friend Anton Schindler, but, according to Otto Kinkeldey *(Musical Quarterly,* XIII [1927], 219), "no one has since been able to discover it."

Among other recent accessions at the Friends Historical Library may be mentioned a collection of letters of Emily Howland, a New York Quaker girl who worked among the freed slaves in the South after the Civil War (see Henrietta Jaquette's article in this number of the BULLETIN); a group of letters from Isaac Eyre, a Bucks County Friend, to Isaac Hicks of Long Island, written in the 1870's and '80's; approximately eighty letters of an earlier Isaac Hicks of Long Island, the cousin and traveling companion of Elias Hicks; and two oil paintings—"The Quaker Wedding" by Howard Pyle and a portrait of Lucretia Mott's mother, Anna Folger Coffin.

* * *

The diaries of John Parrish (1730-1807), a minister of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, have been deposited in the Quaker Collection of the Haverford College Library, on indefinite loan from St. Charles Seminary Library, Overbrook. These diaries are in nine volumes and cover the years 1784 to 1805, while John Parrish was traveling over a wide area to visit Quaker families and meetings. These little manuscript volumes contain much useful information about religious and economic conditions among Friends in that period.

Miss Elizabeth S. Trotter has presented to the Haverford Quaker Collection a manuscript poem written by her mother, Elizabeth Stanley Trotter (Mrs. William H. Trotter). This poem, entitled "The Children of Light," was written by Mrs. Trotter in the later years of her life. She was not a Friend but was keenly interested in seventeenth-century Quakerism, and wrote what became a more than 500-page narrative poem based on George Fox's *Journal* and other material relating to the early Friends.

* * *

The University of Chicago and the University of Virginia

are sponsoring the publication of a new and complete edition of the papers of James Madison. The editors will appreciate information about the location of letters by or to James Madison or his wife [Dolley Payne (Todd)], especially letters in private possession or among uncalendared manuscripts in the collections of public or private institutions. Please address The Papers of James Madison, 1126 East 59th Street, Chicago 37, Illinois.

Book Reviews

Quakerism and Early Christianity. Swarthmore Lecture, 1957. By Henry J. Cadbury. London: George Allen and Unwin. 1957. 48 pages. $1.25.

The latest Swarthmore Lecture, *Quakerism and Early Christianity,* by Henry J. Cadbury, will appeal not only to readers of this BULLETIN, but to a much wider group of Friends and non-Friends as well. In it Henry Cadbury suggests from the point of view of a trained historian some of the differences and similarities between these two early movements and some of the implications for problems we face today. Throughout he stresses the variety within the two movements, both initially and in their later developments, and the ambiguities and paradoxes which this variety inevitably created.

I was especially interested in his treatment of the concept of membership in these two groups. He cites the example of the Roman centurion Cornelius and the question as to whether he had to become a Jew before he could become a Christian. Henry Cadbury then asks: "Is it necessary today for a Buddhist or a Jew to become a Christian if he is to be a Quaker?" and adds: "The fact that we answer these questions in opposite ways may give us pause." In this same section occurs one of those typical and wholly delightful "Henry Cadburyisms," where he speaks of Peter and Paul as co-founders of the "Wider Judeo-Christian Fellowship."

One topic which Henry Cadbury does not deal with is the economic background of early Christianity and Quakerism. I realize of course that within the brief confines of a lecture no one can be expected to touch on all phases of a subject, but I would have welcomed his comments on the subtle interplay which so often exists between how a man earns his living and what he believes, and which was almost certainly present in varying degrees in the origins of both Christianity and Quakerism.

To me the most impressive feature of this lecture is the plea it makes throughout for toleration and even welcoming of variety and difference. In a season when the temptation for many is to move toward conformity and orthodoxy in both politics and religion, it is exceedingly good to have Henry Cadbury reminding us, sometimes with great charm and wit, and always with clarity, that variety is not only the spice but the essence of life.

Swarthmore, Pennsylvania

HENRY G. RUSSELL

The Quaker Persuasion, Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow. A Handbook for Friends and Friends of the Friends. By William Wistar Comfort, with an introduction by Richmond P. Miller. Philadelphia: Frederick H. Gloeckner. 1956. 72 pages $2.50.

This little book, completed just before the author's death, does not pretend to be either a history of Friends or a definitive statement of Friends beliefs. It is, rather, the personal affirmation of a man deeply involved in the Quaker movement and eager to interpret its faith to non-Friends—as eager as he ever was during his eighteen years as president of Friends Historical Association to bring Friends and non-Friends alike into its fold. As befits a historian, President Comfort devotes over half his pages to a survey of Quaker history, for he felt that to be an integral part of the Quaker faith. A number of photographs add to the personal interest of the book and remind us also of the author's long association with Haverford College.

University of Pennsylvania

LYMAN W. RILEY

The Witness of William Penn. Edited with an Introduction by Frederick B. Tolles and E. Gordon Alderfer. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1957. xxx, 205 pages. $3.75.

Editors must perform the miracle of resurrection. Either they select what is currently usable from the man's millions of words, or they prepare a sample which invites the modern reader to resurrect more for himself. These latest editors of a Penn anthology have done both well.

Apparently most of Penn's controversial writings can stay buried in their original editions, of use only to specialists in later Stuart religion. Penn himself gave the order for interment when he wrote in *Some Fruits of Solitude,* perhaps recalling his youthful fervor: "to be furious in religion is to be irreligiously religious," (no. 533) and "zeal dropped in charity is good, without it good for nothing, for it devours all it comes near" (no. 541).

Since the modern reader presumably tires after two hundred pages, only part of Penn's durable goods can be included: a third of *Some Fruits of Solitude* (1693, 1702); three-quarters of his history of Quakerism (1694); most of his essay on European federation (1693); five "little esays" from *No Cross, No Crown* (not separately dated); and shorter parts on Pennsylvania and for civil liberties. The Everyman's Library edition gave us several of these, whole and cheap, as well as Joseph Besse's *Life.* But it was innocent of modern editorial comment, avoided everything before 1677, and perforce left out *No Cross, No Crown.* Like other earlier and even fuller selections, its format was less attractive. This newest salesman's sample, unlike Isaac Sharpless's *Selections* or snippets, reproduces solid parts.

The sales talks for each part are concise, restrained, and apt. They counter balance the general introduction's tendency to over-emphasize Penn's being "one of the few of his age"(p.xx) by showing how he reflected his age. Other near-contradictions and overlappings between the general and particular introduction suggest that the former might well have stopped with the bare outlines of life, times, and publications. The attempted sketch of Penn's thought has too many questionable judgments of the Elizabethans, Stuarts, and Puritans, and is too compressed for clarity.

The most valuable comments introduce *Some Fruits of Solitude* (pp. 163-165). Here, in one final sentence, is a masterly characterization. The editor suggests that Penn had three periods of creativity. No attempt to be different, however, prevents the acceptance of earlier judgments, for example that the last period, 1692-94, should be represented with two-thirds of the space. All Penn problems are not solved: I am still puzzled over Penn's relation to the Puritans, the Roman Catholics, and the rationalists, and I wonder about his relation to others in "the top echelon" (p. xi). But the editing is uniformly excellent and unobtrusive. It has successfully served as midwife in a rebirth of William Penn.

University of California at Riverside

T. D. Seymour Bassett

Briefer Notices

By Henry J. Cadbury

The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, 81 (1957), contains among its January notes and documents two on John Bartram. W. N. Prince (pp. 86-88) reports from a letter of Collinson to Dr. Dillenius, professor of Botany at Oxford, how in 1736 Bartram had traveled nearly 150 miles to the great cedar swamp in New Jersey to get information about the white cedar. F. D. West (pp. 88-90) quotes a letter from the Reverend C. M. Wrangel and the actual certificate from the Royal Academy of Science of Stockholm by which Bartram was received its Fellow in 1769.

* * *

In *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography,* 64 (1956), 454-457, Harold I. Meyer reports his experiences in identifying near Montpelier postoffice the site of "Cedar Creek Meeting House, Hanover County, Virginia." The house was burned down in 1904. The bricks were removed even from the foundations, thus leaving a rectangular trench. Nearby are evidences of the abandoned burial ground. A woodcut of the house and a map accompany the article.

* * *

A substantial article in *The Encyclopedia of Morals,* edited by Vergilius Ferm (New York: Philosophical Library, 1956), pp. 461-469, is by Howard H. Brinton and describes the "Morality of Classical Quakerism." It deals with the sources of Quaker morals, primarily the New Testament and the Inward Light, secondarily the belief that all men are one and share a common divine life. Aspects of the subject are given under the four heads: equality, simplicity, harmony, and community.

* * *

A single issue, Vol. 4, No. 7 (March 1955), of the Gloucester County [New Jersey] Historical Society's *Bulletin* contains an historical article on Upper Greenwich Meeting, one by S. Stewart Joslen, Jr. on "Backgrounds of Mullica Hill," which is largely Quaker history, and a column of excerpts from Thomas Chalkley's *Journal.*

* * *

Alfred W. Braithwaite has given a careful biography of an early Friend and much more in his Presidential address to our sister society on *Thomas Rudyard, Early Friends' "Oracle of Law"* (Supplement No. 27 to

Journal of the Friends' Historical Society [1956], 21 pages). Beginning with the statement, "The earliest Friends had not much use for lawyers. This is true, I think, both colloquially and literally," he gives evidence that Fox's early expressed criticism of the legal profession and the passive suffering of Friends when illegally treated, was replaced later by a Quaker practice of invoking legal aid. Thomas Rudyard was a Friend who served the Society in this capacity in London. Later he migrated to America and evidently became a moral renegade.

* * *

An illustrated article on "Miss Sewell of Norfolk," the author of *Black Beauty,* was published in the *East Anglian Magazine,* 15 (1956), 542-547. Anna Sewell in her early years was a Friend.

* * *

James H. Rodabaugh contributed to *Museum Echoes,* 29 (1956), 27-30, an article on "The Friends Yearly Meeting House at Mount Pleasant [Ohio]."

* * *

"Michigan Days of Sojourner Truth," by Berenice Lowe in *New York Folklore,* 12 (1956), 127-135, tells of Scjourner's many associations with Quakers in Michigan. It was a Friend, Henry Willis, who was responsible for her moving to Battle Creek, where an important station of the Underground Railroad was located.

* * *

Moses Brown's "Account of a journey to distribute donations 12th month 1775" is published with an introduction by Mack E. Thompson in *Rhode Island History,* 15 (1956), 97-121. This is a first-hand account of the Quaker relief work in Massachusetts in the early days of the Revolution.

* * *

One might not expect to find Quaker history in a book on the historical development of hybrid corn. Yet *Corn and Its Early Fathers* by Henry A. Wallace and William L. Brown (Michigan State University Press, 1956) devotes five pages (47-53) to James Logan's pioneer experiments in corn pollination and an entire chapter (pp. 69-79) to the important later work of another Friend, William J. Beal, in developing the hybrids which have so greatly increased the yields of this native American plant. The senior author is a former Secretary of Agriculture and Vice-President of the United States; the junior author is a plant geneticist and a Friend.

* * *

Nineteen years ago, Henrietta S. Jaquette first published the letters of Cornelia Hancock, a Quaker girl of Hancock's Bridge, New Jersey, who served through the last two years of the Civil War as a volunteer nurse, first at Gettysburg and later in Virginia. A new edition of these

vivid letters has been published under the original title, *South After Gettysburg* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1956). Henrietta Jaquette has added a second series of letters written while Cornelia Hancock was teaching in the freedmen's school at Mount Pleasant, South Carolina, under the care of the (Philadelphia) Friends Association for the Aid and Elevation of the Freedmen. (See article by Henrietta S. Jaquette in this issue of the BULLETIN.)

* * *

In the *Blumhaven Digest* for September 1956 (pp. 5-13) Herman Blum asks the question "Did William Penn 'Find' the Lost Tribes of Israel in America?" He cites Penn's theory, expressed in his *Letter to the Free Society of Traders,* that the American Indians were descended from the Ten Lost Tribes and seems to argue for its plausibility on the ground that Jewish groups after the Dispersion may have migrated eastward to China and thence to North America. He is not quite accurate, however, in describing Penn's *Letter* as "heretofore unknown."

* * *

From Merchants to "Colour Men"; Five Generations of Samuel Wetherill's White Lead Business by Miriam Hussey (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1956, xvi, 149 pages) is the story of an old Philadelphia firm, whose founder was a prominent "Free Quaker" during the American Revolution. It is a technical study in business history, based on records running from 1783 to 1933.

* * *

One of the most elaborate Quaker family histories of recent years is the *History of the Bye Family and Some Allied Families* by Arthur Edwin Bye (Holicong, Pennsylvania: Bye Family History Publication Fund, 1956, xiv, 450 pages). Lavishly illustrated by the author and well-indexed, it is a record not only of the Quaker Byes but also of certain related Bucks County Quaker families—Paxson, Ingham, Kinsey, Pearson, Pownall, and Canby. There is a good deal of interesting narrative history besides the pedigrees.

* * *

A brief account of the early history of Friends in Georgia by Faith Kingsley Bertsche appeared in the Augusta (Georgia) *Chronicle and Herald* for November 11, 1956. It includes some interesting references to the settlement at Wrightsborough from Quaker sources, but also unfortunately repeats the familiar errors exposed by Alex M. Hitz in his article in the last issue of this BULLETIN.

* * *

A memorial sketch of the Quaker-bred distinguished anthropologist, Gladys Armanda Reichard, together with a bibliography of her writings, appears in *American Anthropologist,* 58 (1955), 913-916.

A comprehensive account of "The Culture of Early Pennsylvania" by Frederick B. Tolles in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* 81 (1957), 119-137, and "William Penn, Classical Republican," by Mary Maples, ibid., 138-156, are two articles of special Quaker interest, that were presented at a Symposium on Colonial Pennsylvania History held at Bryn Mawr College, November 1956. They are also reprinted together by the College. Tolles finds several different cultural strands in the colony. Miss Maples relates Penn's theoretical political ideas to his program for his colonies and also to his waning efforts in England itself.

* * *

The Flushing Remonstrance, written by Haynes Trébor and distributed at Bowne House, Flushing, New York, is a thirty-two-page pamphlet describing in wider American context the remonstrance of the inhabitants of the town of Flushing to Governor Stuyvesant, December 27, 1657. This very early appeal for religious toleration was occasioned by the Governor's prohibition against receiving Quakers. It was followed five years later by the appeal by John Bowne, a Flushing Quaker, to the States General and West India Company in Amsterdam against his banishment from Flushing. These events established religious freedom in New Amsterdam and later in New York.

* * *

Lady Deborah Moody, one of the founders of Gravesend, Long Island, was not a Friend but an associate and entertainer of Friends and a fellow promoter of religious freedom. She is the subject of a pamphlet written by the late Cleveland Rogers (Brooklyn, New York: Kings County Trust Company, 1956, 10 pages), entitled *Brooklyn's First City Planner.*

* * *

Kenneth L. Carroll has provided three additional records of the Nicholites in *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 52 (1957), 75-80; viz., witnesses to the marriages reported (ibid., 46 [1951], 288-9) and Nicholites admitted into the Society of Friends (a) by Third Haven Monthly Meeting and (b) by Northwest Fork Monthly Meeting.

* * *

In *Pennsylvania History,* 24 (1957), 34-54, appears the first of several articles on James Logan by E. Gordon Alderfer. It has as subtitle: "The Political Career of a Colonial Scholar." A second article on "Logan as Patron and Natural Philosopher" is on pages 101-120.

* * *

J. Welfred Holmes has written in *New England Quarterly,* 30 (1957), 58-72, a useful article on a limited but important topic, "Whittier and Sumner: A Political Friendship." Their relationship from 1845, when Sumner's speech on "The True Grandeur of Nations" aroused Whittier's pacifist response, until Sumner's death in 1874 Professor

Holmes traces, noting their keen sympathy on most antislavery issues. The article uses some of the less well-known correspondence. Whittier really started and made Sumner's political career. When Sumner, unlike Whittier, withdrew in 1872 from the Republican party their mutual respect continued.

* * *

The article on "Franklin's Type: Its Study Past and Present" by C. William Miller in the *Library Bulletin* of the American Philosophical Society (*Proceedings,* 99 [1955], 418-432) deals with the complicated history of the Philadelphia, 1728, edition of Sewel's *History of the Quakers.* Though the titlepage has the name of Samuel Keimer, it, as well as some of the later sections, are shown to come from the press of Franklin and Meredith.

* * *

The *Dorset Year Book* (1956-57), pp. 51-55, has an article on "Daniel Taylor of Bridport: Quaker and Philanthropist." Taylor, who lived from 1642 to 1714, has a list of benefactions that extend from a town fire engine to a Friends meetinghouse, almshouses, and a free school.

* * *

An inaugural dissertation by Hans Ulherr on the use of the form of address for the second person singular in the English speech of North America from the beginnings of the colonial period until 1800 (University of Erlangen, 1956, photoprinted from typescript, 117 pages) deals with the language of the Quakers in the period and, by special extension, in more recent times also (pp. 71-84). The author has unfortunately depended too largely on the English translation of Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur's *Letters from an American Farmer,* a not very trustworthy guide to Quaker speech. Nor does he satisfactorily trace the replacing of *thou* by *thee* for the nominative.

* * *

An informative article, useful even for persons who have not ever looked into the subject before, is by R. S. Mortimer on "The Archives of the Society of Friends" in *The Amateur Historian,* 3 (1956), 55-61.

* * *

In "Wordsworth and Colthouse near Hawkshead" (*Modern Language Review,* 50 [October 1955], 499-501) our Honorary Member Isabel Ross discusses the Lake Poet's recollection in old age of having attended the "Presbyterian" meetinghouse at Hawkshead as a boy and gives convincing reason for believing that it was actually the old Quaker meetinghouse at Colthouse that he attended. What he chiefly recalled was that "the worshipers were always telling God Almighty of His attributes, rather than seeking spiritual communion with Him for themselves." (This article was reprinted in the *Friends' Quarterly,* April 1956.)

Articles in Quaker Periodicals

By Lyman W. Riley

Friends Journal

Letter from the Past No. 159 is called "In the State of Denmark" and refers to an English Friend, John Hall, who visited Copenhagen in 1658. —Jan. 12, 1957, pp. 21-22.

Bliss Forbush in "A Birthday Established" cites the evidence that proves the birth date of Elias Hicks to have been March 19, 1748.—Jan. 19, 1957, p. 38.

A brief outline of the history of Cheltenham Monthly Meeting, Pa., as originally presented by William T. Llewellyn is summarized by Edwin B. Bronner.—Jan.26, 1957, pp. 55-56.

"Now and Then" compares the "Evidence of Membership Then and Now" in his Letter from the Past No. 160, considerably to the benefit of the earlier kinds of evidence, before formal listings of membership in the Society were made.—March 9, 1957, pp. 150-151.

"Friends First or Farthest South," Letter from the Past No. 161, refers to Quakers in South Africa, the Antarctic, and the South Pacific.—May 11, 1957, pp. 310-311.

In "A Quaker College in 1814?" Frederick B. Tolles describes the correspondence between John Comly of Byberry, Pa., and Isaac Hicks of Long Island in which they tell of Friends' interest in the establishment of a college at about that date.—May 18, 1957, pp. 327-328.

The Friends' Quarterly

L. Hugh Doncaster throws light on "The Significance of the Advices and Queries" by giving their history in clear and summary fashion, showing how they have reflected the developing "corporate concern" of the Society, generation by generation.—Jan., 1957, pp. 1-7.

In "George Fox: Healing and Spiritual Regeneration" Joseph Pickvance says "for the early Friends healing was simply a part . . . of a complete Christian ministry to the individual." He gives examples from the writings of Fox and Nayler.—Jan., 1957, pp. 8-19.

In "The Later Years of Catharine Phillips" A. G. K. Leonard gives in outline the history of this traveling Friend of the eighteenth century and the titles of some of her published works.—April, 1957, pp. 91-94.

War Comes to
QUAKER PENNSYLVANIA
1682-1756

ROBERT L. D. DAVIDSON . . .

traces the decline and fall of the Holy Experiment in the province of Pennsylvania. Penn's Province was dedicated to avoiding war and violence, but by 1756 the French and Indian Wars, in which the other colonies had become engaged, extended onto Pennsylvania's soil. Against the background of Quaker pacifism, Dr. Davidson describes the chain of events that led the province into war.

Temple University Publications. *$5.00.*

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS
NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

MY IRISH JOURNAL 1669-1670

BY
WILLIAM PENN

Edited by
ISABEL GRUBB

Introduction by
HENRY J. CADBURY

Originally published at $3.00
Now available at $1.00
(including postage)

Send orders to

FRIENDS HISTORICAL LIBRARY
Swarthmore College
Swarthmore, Pennsylvania

I AM INTERESTED IN BUYING PICTURES PAINTED *by* EDWARD HICKS (Bucks County 1780-1849), primitive artist. Please send full details by letter addressed to Robert Carlen, 323 South Sixteenth Street, Philadelphia 2, Penna.